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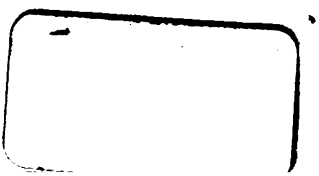

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, D. D.,
Archbishop of Baltimore, Md.

THE TWO K

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FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, D. D.,
Archbishop of Baltimore, Md.

THE TWO KENRICKS

Most Rev. Francis Patrick
Archbishop of Baltimore.

Most Rev. Peter Richard
Archbishop of St. Louis

By

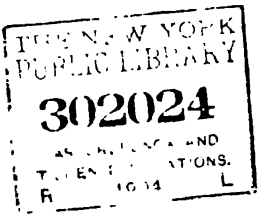
JOHN J. O'SHEA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN

ARCHBISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia:
JOHN J. MCVEY.
1904.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Archbishop of Philadelphia.

November 14, 1903.

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TO

HIS EMINENCE JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS

AND THE ILLUSTRIOUS HIERARCHY OF THE UNITED STATES IN GENERAL

THIS HUMBLE EFFORT TO DEPICT THE SAINTLY AND STRENUOUS LIVES OF TWO GREAT BUILDERS OF THE CHURCH

IS, WITH SENTIMENTS OF PROFOUND RESPECT AND VENERATION,

DUTIFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

I have felt for a long time that we ought to have biographies of the two great prelates who pre-eminently deserve the title of Fathers of the American Church, in the sense in which this title is bestowed on the Fathers of the Universal Church in different nations and ages. In profound learning and sanctity united these remarkable brothers stand alone. Like all really great and holy ecclesiastics, they shrank from publicity, except when that publicity was necessary or advisable for the defense of the Church or the furtherance of her interests. In spite of this modesty—or rather perhaps because of it—their fame has grown and deepened with time and shall continue to do so as the Church in America continues in her triumphal progress. Their example of devotedness to duty, of the union of the spirit of piety and study with most active public duties, should not be lost to the present and succeeding generations of priests and people. Their lives form an important portion of the history of the Catholic Church in these States, and therefore should interest all who would understand that history.

It was the writer's ambition, at one time, to be the biographer of these two great ecclesiastics. His numerous duties caused him to postpone the task until diminished strength and advanced years rendered it unadvisable, if not impossible. He had ample opportunities of acquaintance with the illustrious subjects of such a biography. For thirty-two years he was the subject, as priest, Vicar General and Coadjutor of Arch-

bishop Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis. From him he learned much of his elder brother of Baltimore and had the happiness of personal acquaintance with him. As one of the successors in Philadelphia of Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, he has had opportunities of learning much of this great and holy man.

The writer of this Preface has one consolation in the loss of the honor of being the biographer of the two Kenricks. His frequently expressed admiration of these men might possibly suggest a partiality of judgment in relating their histories. It is better that one like the present biographer, who did not know them personally and can judge without bias, should record their histories. A practiced and judicious writer, with a head and heart to conceive and to feel a deep interest in his subject, and ample materials to present it, he will achieve success as the biographer of the "Two Kenricks," and the writer most earnestly recommends his work to those with whom his opinion may have any influence.

In the preliminary examination of the "fama sanctitatis" of the Venerable Bishop Neumann, necessary for the introduction of his cause with a view to his beatification, the writer was generally asked by clerical and lay witnesses, "Why not introduce the name of Bishop Kenrick? We all felt he was a saint." Indeed, the "fama sanctitatis" was quoted as great in one case as in the other.

P. J. RYAN,
Archbishop of Philadelphia.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD.

Serene and successful in the present, buoyant with justifiable hope in the future, the Church of God in the United States often tenderly turns to the past so full of splendid memories for her. Above the mounds of her great dead she breathes a sigh of loving regret and a prayer of loving piety. It is her hope that the recollection of their high example may never cease to stimulate their successors in the Divine ministry to similar endeavor and achievement in the Master's field of service.

To the building up of the Church to its present stately proportions, that Isle of the West, so beautiful yet so sorely afflicted, the green Ierne, has contributed no small share. Her sorrows bore joyful fruit in unexpected ways. The restrictive laws which banished priest and pedagogue from their native soil gave to a wider world the piety, the zeal and the learning which should have made for the fame and the prosperity of the motherland. Many a devout heart, reflecting over this seeming waywardness of fate, is consoled by the philosophy that out of the noxious nettle persecution springs the flower of diffused benefit; and even in the utterances of English statesmen at times a tendency to claim the credit for this diffusion, in the general work of civilization, may be detected. When the ruthless Glo'ster is reproached by Lady Anne Warwick as the slayer of the gentle King Henry, whom she speaks of as in heaven, the crafty Plantagenet turns the thought to his advantage. "Was I not kind to send him thither?" he unctuously asks. When English civilization takes credit for the spread of enlightenment by means of the banishment and dispersal of Irish intellect and sanctity, we discern in the idea the cynical philosophy of the sanguinary son of York.

If the millions of lay Irish who flocked to America were impelled to exile by the iron hand of the exterminator of their

homes, the thousands of priests who followed in their wake for the most part obeyed that inspiration which quickened their august predecessors in voluntary exile who bore the cross all over western Europe in the early centuries of Christianity. It was not the sentiment of the exiled Roman, "Where liberty is, there my fatherland," which animated either the cleric or the peasant, for neither could obliterate the remembrance of the fragrant fields and smiling vales of their childhood. But with the priest it was the true impulse of the apostle. Where Christ's work was to be done there he saw his home. Whether it was in the pathless forest, on the torrid alkali plain, the miasmatic swamp lands of the Mississippi, or the savage mountain wild, wherever the voice of a human creature called for succor and sympathy in sickness or death-throe, there the Irish priest saw his fatherland, the place where the Father bade him go and labor.

The time had gone by when the same reward was paid in Ireland for the head of wolf and friar when the great exodus of missionary priests to the American shores began. Though the penal code still remained on the statute book, there was no imitator of the Duke of Grafton in the Vice-royalty to propose to Parliament that their savage provisions should be actively enforced and even added to by a form of oriental atrocity. Though the church edifices were still obliged to hide in narrow wynds and obscure side streets, the office of the priest need no longer be carried on surreptitiously and the congregation could worship without fear of their communion with God being rudely interrupted by the tramp of armed men whose mission it was to seize the priest and scatter the flock. Those who had imitated the policy of Diocletian had seen the error of their ways so clearly as to conclude that their interests would be better served by providing a place of training for the Irish priest than by putting a price upon his capture. It was in this period of respite that many of the men most illustrious in the roll of the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood of the United States responded to the call for clerical help for the fast-growing shepherdless flocks scattered all over the continent. Shining amongst the names of that bright galaxy are those of the two men whose career these pages shall endeavor, however feebly and inefficiently, to trace, the brothers Kenrick.

It was not by any impulse of his own that the biographer essayed the delicate task. To far abler and more suitable

hands the labor had properly fallen, but the pressure of other more imperative duties forbade its execution. By a request which it were ingratitude to disregard, the author was induced, albeit most unwillingly and most diffidently, to essay a work which lay entirely outside the field of his literary ambition.

One qualification at least for such a task was his: that of perfect impartiality. When the work of biography is undertaken by one attached in life by the tender bonds of friendship and admiration to the subject of the memoir, then may the student fear that he has not perhaps a faithful reflection. It was not the author's good fortune to stand in such a relation to either of the great prelates to whose memory he devotes his humble work; time and distance forbade. Still he has the advantage of gaining his estimate of their mental proportions from the lips of those most intimately associated with them in their exalted ministry, of some related to them by kinship, and of many more who pride themselves on having enjoyed their acquaintance and friendship. Their official correspondence to a large extent has been intrusted to his hands; with their published works he has familiarized himself. A mass of valuable memoranda relating to their family history has come to his hands. To the Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, of Dublin, his thanks are especially due, in this regard; also to Mr. John McCall, of the same city. Personally the author is well versed in the history and topography of the interesting old locality wherein the two distinguished brothers first saw the light. For the most valuable aid of all, the help which enabled him to form a mental diagnosis of each of the departed prelates, and for facts in their career which now for the first time are presented to the public eye, he is indebted to the kindness of Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, long associated in the episcopal office with one of the brothers and well acquainted with the other. He has been further encouraged in his task by the gracious approval of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons and the late Archbishop Kain, who each afforded him, most freely and generously, every facility for the examination of the archives of Baltimore and St. Louis, as Archbishop Ryan already had with regard to his diocese of Philadelphia.

It is true that short biographies of the two great Archbishops have already been published, but their scope is inadequate to the dignity of the subject. Justice requires that every aspect of their respective lives, so far as these may be obtainable,

be presented for the enlightenment of those who study the wonderful story of the rise of the Catholic Church in America.

Regarding the plan of the work now respectfully offered, it seemed necessary, for the sake of clearness and order, to treat each of the subjects separately. Devoted brothers though they were, and bound, moreover, in the still more sacred bond of episcopal brotherhood in Christ, their lines of life lay widely apart save in a few early years. Their intercourse, however, was constant, and their mutual correspondence most affectionate and delightful. Wherever it has been found necessary to illustrate the story of their lives, selections from this correspondence have been made and presented.

The literary sources consulted are as follows: Dr. Clarke's "Lives of the Deceased Prelates," John Gilmary Shea's "Catholic Church in the United States," Rev. M. O'Connor's "Archbishop Kenrick and His Work," Archbishop Spalding's "Sketches," Webb's "Centenary of Catholicism in Kentucky," the late Rev. William Walsh's "Jubilee Memoir," John Mitchel's "History of Ireland," D. J. O'Donoghue's "Life of James Clarence Mangan," the *Catholic Miscellany*, the *Metropolitan*, the *United States' Catholic Magazine*. The biographer is indebted to numerous living authorities for oral or documentary help, including Most Rev. Archbishop Ryan, Philadelphia; Right Rev. Bishop McCloskey, Louisville; Rev. L. G. Deppen, Louisville; Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, Dublin; Valette's "Catholicity in Eastern Pennsylvania," in *Catholic Record*.

To several of the reverend doctors and professors of St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook—eminently, Rev. F. P. Siegfried, Rev. Hugh T. Henry, Rev. D. McCabe, Rev. H. T. Drumgoole—the author's thanks are due for many kindnesses in the way of help.

His obligations are especially due to Mr. Dillon Cosgrove, B. A., O. C. C., librarian of the Carmelite Convent, Aungier street, Dublin, who searched with great diligence in the old city Directories for 1791 for traces of the Kenrick family. In the Directories from 1843 to 1852, inclusive, he found the name of a barrister, Peter Richard Kenrick, called to the bar in 1842, a nephew to the Archbishop. The late Mr. John McCall, sr., of Dublin, also furnished many valuable notes.

THE AUTHOR.

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BOOK I.

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK.

CHAPTER I.

HABITAT OF THE KENRICK FAMILY: POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND LITERARY ENVIRONMENT.

"Such men live forever. In the history of the Church of the United States the chapter which records the life of Archbishop Kenrick will adorn one of its brightest pages. His spirit has been breathed into it, his life has been impressed upon it. Centuries could not efface the mark. They will, let us trust, only develop it in its true character, and, above all, in that spirit of true faith which was the distinguishing trait of his life."—Rev. M. O'Connor, S. J., at Philadelphia Academy of Music, January 17, 1867.

It was in the old portion of the Irish capital, known for centuries of warfare as "the Pale," that the Kenrick family had their habitation. This was in earlier times the part of the city which was enclosed within embattled walls, with fortified gateways, and loopholed towers, designed to repel the "wild Irishrie," camped often enough on the opposite bank of the Liffey, in threatening design and formidable force. Circumscribed by the military cincture, the citizens were obliged to restrain their taste for wide streets, if they had any, and so all around the central fortress, known as "the Castle," there spread a network of narrow, crooked and dingy thoroughfares, many of which might be easily spanned by a man's extended arms, some by much less. It was in one of these, which was called Chancery lane, that the family of the Kenricks had their abode. The thoroughfare, which a few years ago was condemned to demolition for street improvement, ran from Bride street to Golden lane, and

was in early times quite an aristocratic part of the city. Here, indeed, was kept the Court of Chancery, from whence it derived its title, and here lived in great state some of the high officials connected with that important department of the State, as well as some of the great legal lights of succeeding eras. The Chancery Court was in the evolution of the city transferred to the central building across the river, known as the Four Courts—the first stately pile which compels the admiration of all travelers driving along the Dublin quays from the western side. Not one in a thousand explorers in old Dublin could realize, from the present condition of such ancient thoroughfares, it is safe to say, what was their estate in the more prosperous period before the Act of Union despoiled Ireland of her Parliament and Dublin of her resident notables. No one could ever dream that such forlorn and dilapidated and foul-smelling places as Chancery lane was one of the most fashionable thoroughfares in the city, or that crowds of beaux in court suits and powdered periwigs, and dainty ladies *à la* Watteau as to attire, borne in sedan chairs, might be found there, on the way to Christ Church or St. Patrick's on Sundays, or mayhap to the Fishamble street or Smock alley theatre, close by, on week nights, with the link-boys running before them to light the way. Yet such indeed was the position of the whole interesting neighborhood. Across the street lay—and still lies—a little pocket of old rookeries called Derby Square, the entrance to which is a passage little more than a yard in width, yet in its time this was the abode of a number of the Irish nobility and a place of the most exclusive *haut ton*. Crossing the thoroughfare called Skinners' alley, just outside the opening of Bride street (which was originally "St. Bride's"), one came to an archway which spanned an arcade running alongside the southern wall of Christ Church Cathedral. Above this

archway stood a carved wooden effigy of Satan, and the arcade itself, as if in cynical mockery of its proximity to a consecrated edifice, bore the awesome name of "Hell." The arcade so named was a warren of lawyers' offices; perhaps this circumstance may be explanatory, to some extent, of the strange title, for in Ireland there is some traditional connection between the gentleman in black and the black-robed gentlemen who plead in the law courts—a connection which they themselves, in that age, did not repudiate, since we know from O'Connell's biographies that the corps of volunteers formed from the members of the Bar, and of which he for some time was one, was known as "the Devil's Own." The presence of these lawyers' offices in the sulphurously-named arcade was explained by the fact that in a sort of annex of Christ Church Cathedral was held the Court of Exchequer, which was also originally located near Chancery lane, in another dingy thoroughfare called Exchequer street. Interspersed with the lawyers' dens were several of the more congenial resorts known at the time as chop houses, some famous coffee houses and some equally celebrated taverns. Night-time at all these establishments found them crowded with the wits of the Irish Bar and the idle class of Dublin—men of the stamp of John Philpot Curran, Ned Lysaght and Jonah Barrington; and mirth and repartee prolonged far into the small hours gave a colorable base for a theory of "happiness in Hell." Only separated by the width of St. Werburgh's Church—where the Irish Viceregal Court worships when residing in "the Castle"—from Chancery lane ran Hoey's court, another constricted avenue to the Castle region, made immortal by its connection with the great Dean of St. Patrick's. It was in this now squalid and fever-laden purlieu that Jonathan Swift first assumed his "heritage of woe;" and if the house in which he was born is still allowed to lurch and

nod there, propped up by internal and external crutches, a menace to the denizens and curiosity-hunters, it is simply a tribute to one who had very little respect himself for things deserving of demolition. This house, it may be useful to state, is No. 7 in the row.

If in the secular sense the ground was classic, in the loftier one it was far more so. It was ground consecrated to the holiest use by the sainted footsteps of Ireland's glorious Apostle, Patrick, by the scarcely less sanctified sandals of St. Laurence O'Toole, and by many a martyred prelate and priest of the sanguinary days of the Tudors. Perhaps the first sounds that broke on the infant ears of the future Archbishops were the peals of the campaniles of the twin Cathedrals of St. Patrick and the Holy Trinity, whose shadows fell athwart the family homestead, from the one at noonday, from the other at eventide. The older pile was originally reared by St. Patrick himself. In its crypt may yet be seen portions of the original structure, while many mementoes of the days when Catholicism was the only faith of the land show in the larger pile which grew up around the foundation that the holy hand of the great Apostle had laid. In the days of Danish supremacy in Dublin the newer mass of the Holy Trinity Cathedral sprang into being, as a memorial of the piety of the Scandinavian monarch, Sitric. The rapacity of the "Reformers" had wrested from Catholic hands both these beautiful "poems in stone." And within a stone's throw of each are similar proofs of the satire of the newer "evangelization." St. Audoen's Church and tower are monuments of the piety of a foreign merchant, it is said, who was shipwrecked on the estuary of the Liffey, and who in gratitude for his rescue devoted a fortune to their erection. So, too, the Church of St. Nicholas Within, in nearby Patrick street. The forgotten founder of this edifice left a fund for its maintenance, on condition that a

Mass be ever afterward offered for the repose of his soul, once a year, within its walls. The church is now a ruin, but the bequest remains; and on the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, thirty years ago, it came out that the incumbent, the Rev. Tresham Gregg, drew his salary of four hundred pounds per annum from that bequest, although the church had fallen into desuetude, on the plea that he had held a Protestant service of some kind within the ruin once in every year since he had come into enjoyment of the benefice, although prayers for the dead were to clerics of his stamp a Popish superstition. The namès of St. Bride and St. Werburgh suggest also the reverence which in the older days of the City of the Pale was felt by the inhabitants of this particular quarter. No Catholic can tread this ground insensible to the sacred memories which make it hallowed. We may be sure that they sank into the souls of the youths who were destined in other lands to revive the glory of the old faith, and fired them with the noble ambition of compensating in some measure for the great wrong by which such beautiful temples of the Most High were wrested from their proper purpose, by rearing, under other skies, many a fane wherein the worship banned by English law might be rendered by hearts still leal to the true Church of Christ.

While the Protestant churches thus flourished in the borrowed splendor of other days all around, in the same ambit the sanctuaries of the Catholics existed only on sufferance. Mole-like they carried on their office in obscure alleys, hidden by the surrounding factories and dwellings of the poor. They were not honored with the title of church. In the Puritan *régime* they were "Mass-houses" (with a small m); when the period of toleration supervened, they were, by a great stretch of liberality, designated "chapels." Catholics themselves, by force of

usage, grew into the habit of so referring to them. Thus we find Dr. Clarke, in his short sketch of Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, stating that his uncle was "parish priest of Francis Street Chapel." The proper description of the edifice is "Church of St. Nicholas of Myra;" and in Catholic days the street on whose line it is situate received its full title of St. Francis street. This curtailment of name of street and square became a universal practice, in Dublin as in most other places where the "reformers" had a strong footing. Bride street was originally "St. Bride's street," Stephen's green "St. Stephen's green," Audoen's Arch "St. Audoen's," Patrick street "St. Patrick's street." The great Abbey of White Friars, said to have been founded in Dublin several centuries before the Anglo-Norman invasion, was represented in those days by a modest church walled in by a mask of high houses on Aungier street in the front and Whitefriars street in the rear; and the principal approach to the edifice to the present day is through a passage cut in these same houses (now tenanted by the Carmelite community themselves) from Aungier street. The Church of SS. Michael and John was buried in a wretched little wynd called Smock alley; so, too, the neighboring Church of St. John the Evangelist, familiarly known in that period and much later as "Adam and Eve Chapel." These examples will serve to show the spirit of the days of relaxed persecution. Not only was the Catholic system held in contempt by the dominant spoilers, but Catholics themselves, insensible to self-respect, accepted the contempt unmurmuringly, content, apparently, that they were accorded the privilege of a despised existence as a separate religious denomination. This was the degeneration which caused the Protestant poet, Thomas Davis, to write:

> "No wonder that his step betrays
> The freedman born in Penal days."

Nor was it merely in material and inanimate things that the brand of moral inferiority was thus sought to be permanently affixed upon the vanquished downtrodden. All public and private life around was redolent of insult and injustice to Catholics. They were debarred from citizen rights, they could not aspire to any public office. They had to endure the galling wrong of taxation without representation. Their vulgar-minded and implacable foes seized every possible opportunity of taunting them on their overthrow and their condition of serfdom. The name of Skinners' alley has been mentioned. It no longer exists, but in those days it was an unsavory narrow thoroughfare which lay where Christ Church place now opens up the view along Thomas street, and its chief claim to notoriety was the house of a fraternity called the "Aldermen of Skinners' Alley." Antedating the Orange Society, the aims and principles of these conspirators were precisely the same as those avowed by the Ulster brotherhood. They held drunken carousals on all Williamite anniversaries, and their headquarters on these occasions were always the focus of riot and noisy demonstrations intended to insult the Catholic population. They drank sulphurous toasts to the downfall of Pope and Popery; they marched in defiant procession, decked with the flaunting emblems of bigotry, on Boyne anniversaries, down to the statue of King William on College green, and, having decked it with festoons of orange lilies and streamers, marched around it like bacchantes, to the clamor of fife and drum. They lorded it in the Municipal Council, and squandered the citizens' money without let or hindrance on these orgies of insult.

Such was the condition of things which the Catholic community in the Irish capital had to endure year after year down to the date of the Emancipation Act; and such on a smaller scale was it in the lesser cities wherever the

Ascendency party was numerous enough to indulge in insult and outrage with impunity. In such an atmosphere, and right in the storm-centre of perennial persecution, was the abode of the Kenrick family.

A difficult thing, one may well imagine, to cultivate, amid such environments, the holy virtues of piety, charity, self-restraint and love of one's neighbor. Yet this was precisely what the Kenrick family did during many trying years. Only supernatural grace could have enabled them to do it. And this grace, beyond all question, was given to the two youths who were destined to plant the flower, in due time, upon a far-off stranger soil.

The families of the Kenricks and Eustaces, for many years related by marriage, have been long settled not only in the city of Dublin but in various other parts of Ireland. Canon O'Hanlon states that a tradition prevails that the father of both Archbishops bore relationship with a family of the same name long resident in the County of Tipperary; if indeed he had not formerly migrated from that part of the country to settle in the metropolis. There are those still living who are fond of relating and accepting the tradition.[1]

The fact that the orthography of the family name has seemed doubtful to some who were familiar with it need not surprise any reader, since variorum spellings of patronymics are common, especially under Anglo-Saxon processes of adjustment. The name would appear to be of Danish or Scottish origin, judging from its modern form of presentation; but it is unsafe to be guided by such a rule. As the Kenricks had long been rooted in Dublin, it is highly probable that they sprang from a Danish stock, since the Northmen had obtained a firm foothold in the Irish capital and held it steadfastly for several centuries, even after their power was broken at Clontarf. They became highly civilized, and developed not only

talents for commerce, but for the liberal arts, as may still be seen by the noble structure of Christ Church Cathedral, as well as by many interesting relics of their *régime* preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. A large number of notable Dublin families trace their origin to this period, and if that of the Kenricks were of the same stock the fact would, so far from militating against their intellectual claims or their patriotic standing, only strengthen the belief in the benefits of an admixture of the strongest races in the development of the highest physical and spiritual types. A process of mutation has been going on in the spelling of family names ever since the English language was introduced into Ireland and endeavored to accommodate its characters to the different sounds and signs of the Gaelic speech. Still it is hard to conceive how the change from Kendrick, as sometimes spelt, to Kenrick could have taken place, since the *d* is, in such a position as in this case, a forcible factor in the determination of the sound, not to be eliminated by the natural tendency to drop such letters as finals. Kendrick and Kenrick may have been originally entirely distinct family names. Indeed genealogists might find a purely Irish derivation for Kenrick by tracing its connection with the other Irish patronymic MacEnery, by presuming that in course of time the common process of ellipsis had worn away the first two letters of the Mac and left the strong final consonant as the first and determining particle of the parent name. This is notoriously the case with regard to many Irish names, such as Guinness or Ginnis, evidently an abbreviation of MacInnis or Innes, Keever from MacIvor or Eever, and so on. There are in existence a couple of convincing proofs that even those connected closely with this particular Kenrick family believed that the proper orthography of the name included the *d;* and this fact starts the query whether any members or branches

of it had conformed to the State religion in the penal days, for certain it is that at least one Kendrick is found in that unfortunate position. This individual, moreover, was one who had acquired a certain share of reflected fame by his connection with immortal genius, and lives in biography, although in most cases anonymously. It is known that during the earlier part of the eighteenth century one Roger Kendrick was City Surveyor to the city of Dublin, and afterwards Verger of St. Patrick's Cathedral. He acted in the latter capacity to the famous Dr. Jonathan Swift. When the Dean on a certain occasion had prepared to address a congregation, he only found the official Verger present. However, in no manner disconcerted, the witty Dean commenced his sermon with the words, "My dearly beloved Roger," and the discourse was rendered brief, as the circumstances very properly required.

This Roger Kendrick, however, appears to have had talents beyond the needs of a verger—in fact, had claims to a literary distinction of his own. Some years ago there lived in Werburgh street, in Dublin, a curious antiquarian —one who combined archæology with commerce in a very prosaic way—Mr. Edward Evans. Like the Scottish devotee, he might describe himself as cultivating the Muses on oatmeal, since while his shelves upstairs were loaded with the rarest literary treasures he dispensed meal and flour from behind his counter to customers with the unaffected bonhomie of the genuine philosopher. Within recent years his precious collection was put under the auctioneer's hammer, and amongst the rare volumes disposed of was a collection of Sir James Ware's works (Walter Harris' edition). In the catalogue of these was found the following note:

"The first volume ('History of the Bishops,' etc.) belonged to a subscriber, Roger Kendrick, City Surveyor to the Corporation of Dublin, and afterwards Verger of

St. Patrick's Cathedral; it contains his autograph and numerous interesting MS. marginal notes by him; several of the subscribers are noted as being his friends; after Dean Swift's name is written: 'Under God, my best friend.' It afterwards passed into the possession of the Ven. Archdeacon Cotton (has his autograph), who made corrections in the addenda; and it subsequently became the property of the present owner, who, with great labour and research, compiled, as a supplement, in clearly written MS., The Succession of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland from the Reformation to the present time, with the Ecclesiastical Division of the Dioceses, Biographical Memoirs and Notices of the most distinguished Ecclesiastics, and an Index, thus rendering it a Unique Copy of the Work, and an invaluable contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland."

The man who could claim Swift as "his best friend under God" enjoyed a rare distinction, and if he were a real Kenrick it is to be regretted that such an intellect was to be found on the side of those who made the laws to oppress the more steadfast Kenricks and men of like genius and fidelity, and scattered them all over the globe.

Whatever doubt exists as to the exact birthplace of one of the Archbishops, it has been shown clearly enough that Thomas Kenrick, the father of the two famous prelates, lived in No. 16 Chancery lane; later on he kept a scrivener's office in York street, a thoroughfare running eastward from Aungier street to St. Stephen's green. It was at that day an exceedingly select section, and, indeed, it has not very much deteriorated since. The business of scrivener was an important and respectable one; for all legal documents were then required to be copied by hand, to be rigidly correct in the minutest particular, following set legal formulæ, and abounding in quaint Latin and

Norman-French phrases and abbreviations. In this office the two youths successively spent several years before entering on their clerical studies; and it was here that the wonderfully gifted, "most musical, most melancholy" Irish poet, James Clarence Mangan, spent an apprenticeship which he seemed to regard as a kind of Promethean fetterment. This may be gathered at least from an article of his on the life of Dr. Petrie, the renowned archæologist, in whose company he afterwards spent several years in the Record Office of Dublin. A true poet is a sort of unconsecrated priest—though in his material life he may be the very antithesis of one, as the world knows too well. Mangan seems to have had all the refinement of the spiritual nature; but he possessed, unfortunately for himself, that species of fatalistic melancholy against which the sacred calling is, in sensitive and high-strung natures, the only true shield and antidote. His sublime gloom—worse by many degrees than that of Byron—was intensified by poverty. He was compelled to drudge at the scrivener's desk for the support of a helpless family; and to make his servitude all the more poignant, he had betaken himself to the deadly solace of drink —some say opium besides. The poet's plaint of this period when he felt, like Samson, "in brazen fetters doomed to grind," is heartrending; yet it compels the tribute of sympathy and admiration, for in its deepest agony his spirit confessed the hand of the Divinity and acknowledged his own lamentable weakness, as in the opening note of that cry of anguish unmatched since the threnody of Job, "The Nameless One"—

> "Roll forth, my song, like a mighty river
> That rushes along to the boundless sea:
> God will uphold me while I deliver
> My soul of thee."

Under all his trials and mental submersions Mangan

carried the rectitude of the Catholic heart. To his exemplary conduct in the scrivener's office the late Archbishop of St. Louis, who had spent some years there along with him, bore unqualified testimony in a letter to Mr. John McCall, of Dublin, in October, 1877. His Grace said:

"I knew James Mangan for several years very intimately, and highly esteemed him for his talents and virtue. . . . After my father's death, in 1817, his office was continued for some years, in which both Mangan and myself were engaged. The office was in York street."

It was Father Francis Kenrick who continued the office for those years. He conducted it for the benefit of the widow and children of his brother. We may be sure that this holy priest would have no one in his employment who was unworthy of confidence and respect. Great, then, must be the admiration felt for the gifted poet's character when he is found bearing up manfully with a condition which was repugnant wholly with his aspirations, for the sake of those who were cast helplessly on his hands. He was at this time a lad in his teens, and the power of poetical expression which even at that early age was his is indicated in those lines which he afterwards recalled when penning his article on his departed friend, Dr. Petrie:

"O Genius! Genius! all thou dost endure
First from thyself, and finally from those
The earth-bound and the blind, who cannot feel
That there be souls with purposes as pure
And lofty as the mountain snows, and zeal
All quenchless as the spirit whence it flows,
In whom that fire, struck like the spark from steel,
In other bosoms ever lives and glows.
Of such, thrice blest are they whom, ere mature
Life generate woes which God alone can heal,
His mercy calls to a loftier sphere than this—
For the mind's conflicts are the worst of woes:

And fathomless and fearful yawns the Abyss
Of Darkness thenceforth under all who inherit
That melancholy changeless hue of heart
Which flings its pale gloom o'er the years of youth,
Those most—or least—illumined by the spirit
Of the eternal archetype of Truth.
For such as those there is no peace within
Either in action or in contemplation,
From first to last—but even as they begin,
They close the dim night of their tribulation;
Worn by the torture of the untiring breast,
Which, scorning all, and shunned of all, by turns,
Upheld in solitary strength begot
By its own unshared shroudedness of lot,
Through years and years of crushed hopes, throbs and burns,
And burns and throbs, and will not be at rest,
Searching a desolate Earth for that it findeth not."

Although the aloës of disappointment permeates this rhapsody, there is none of the misanthropy of the weary sensualist that cast a pall over Byron's melancholy spells, as mirrored in "Manfred." Hence when it is known that the intimacy between Peter Richard Kenrick and Mangan was so close as to permit the one to learn German from the other, there could be no fear that any distrust in God was drunk in with the communion of ideas. Mangan was an enthusiastic student of German literature, and singularly well versed in the language. His "German Anthology" is a living proof of his genius in this regard, and his whole-souled sympathy with the spirit of German poesy.

Father Kenrick, as already stated, carried on his brother's business for the benefit of his widow. He did so until the year 1825 (two years before his own demise). The business of scrivener was at that period, and for many years after, both profitable and reputable. Hence those who read the life of James Clarence Mangan will find it necessary to fortify themselves against the wayward and lymphatic poet's morbidness over this period of his career, lest they be led into doing a grave injustice to the memory of an exemplary and most conscientious

priest. One would really think, from Mangan's tone, that he was little more than such a drudge as Dickens painted in drawing the character of Smike, toiling unconscionable hours in a dingy den for the most jejune pittance. He left a blood-curdling account of the moral tortures he underwent while earning his bread as a scrivener's apprentice and afterwards as an attorney's hack, but these are declared unreliable. The late Father Meehan, O. S. F., the eminent historian of "The Franciscans in Ireland" and kindred makers of ecclesiastical history, a personal friend of the poet's, questioned him on the subject, and concluded the story was based on hallucination or morbid fancy. No biographer of the Kenricks could allow this subject to be slurred over. Mangan's visionary and atrabilious statements are in print, and the reputation of an unblemished family is to some extent discredited by his loose and peevish maunderings. The evidence here adduced is strong enough to convince the rational reader that he confounded, in his moments of artificial afflatus, two distinct and totally different phases of his early career.

At the period when the two Kenricks began to receive their first impressions of the meaning of life the Irish atmosphere was redolent of the spirit of heroism and sacrifice. At every Catholic fireside the tale of persecution and chivalric resistance was told with emotion and lingered over with pious delight. The daring of the priests in the crucial times when hunters like the Portuguese Jew, Garcia, made it a regular business to set and capture them by means of machinery resembling somewhat that of Pinkerton's agency of our own day, was the theme of many a fireside story. The Unitarian historian, John Mitchell, pays a tribute to the steadfast heroism of the priesthood, amid that storm of savagery, which brings it vividly before the mind's eye: "In truth," he says,

"the ardent zeal and constancy, utterly unknown to fear, of the Irish Catholic priests during that whole century" (the eighteenth) "are as admirable in the eyes of all just and impartial men as they were abominable and monstrous in the eyes of the Protestant interest. They often had to traverse the sea between Ireland and France in fishing smacks, and disguised as fishermen, carrying communications to or from Rome, required by the laws of their Church, though they knew that on their return, if discovered, the penalty was the penalty of high treason —that is, death. When in Ireland, they had often to lurk in caves and make fatiguing journeys, never sure that the priest-hunters were not on their trail; yet all this they braved with a courage which, in any other cause, would have been reckless desperation. The English colonists could not comprehend such chivalrous devotion at all, and could devise no other theory to account for it than that these priests must be continually plotting with foreign Catholics to overthrow the Protestant interest and plunder them of their newly-gotten estates. This was the secret terror that always urged them to fresh atrocities."

Nor were the Muse's favors limited, in that unlikely old precinct of Dublin, to the eccentric children of genius, Swift and Mangan. Not very far off, in Aungier street, the more fortunate child of song, Thomas Moore, first saw the light a few years before the latter. The house in which Mangan came into the world almost faced Hoey's court, wherein Swift first drew breath. Probably not more than twenty or thirty yards'length separated the two. Moore's birthplace was a few hundred yards away. It was a grocery store, and so was the Mangans' place. But Moore's parents were prosperous, while the other poet's were the reverse. Moore got the best education that Trinity College could give, while his less fortunate but more gifted brother of the lyre was fain to be con-

tented with whatever odd learning he could pick up outside the parish school.

Mangan's patriotism, if we may judge from his writings in the *Nation* and the impassioned spirit of some of his poems, was more sterling and deep-seated than that of the "curled darling" of the Irish aristocracy, Thomas Moore. The lines in which it found expression flowed from the soul of one who had nought to gain by the iambics which attuned an individual melancholy to a nation's threnody of bereavement. But it had no share in the formation of patriotism in the mind of Francis Patrick Kenrick, inasmuch as he never knew Mangan personally. The times in which his youthful mind found expansion would be likely to infuse in him a spirit of defiance and revolt without any external stimulus. His infant ears may have been pierced with those sounds which filled O'Connell's heart with dread of a further appeal to physical resistance to the powers that were in Ireland. Born within bowshot of the Castle-keep of Dublin, the cries of the men tortured at the triangles in its courtyards must have fallen upon his undiscerning ear, and were he ever taken abroad by parent or nurse, his wondering eyes might have fastened with instinctive shuddering upon the phenomenon of a crimson tinge in the street gutters—the sickening token of slaughter in the public ways which impelled the Lord Lieutenant's wife to implore her husband to put a stop to the daily butchery of Irish patriots in Thomas street and the adjoining thoroughfares upon the defeat of the insurgents of '98. He was ten years old when the mad attempt of young Emmet was quenched in blood, and then, surely, he must have received a vivid impression of the meaning of English rule in his native land and the fate of those who dared to oppose it. His youthful ears must have drunk in the thrilling story of that daring enthusiast; he may have heard his voice thunder-

ing out its notes of defiance to Norbury in the courthouse across the river; perchance he was one of those who caught a glimpse of his bearing on the scaffold and saw the dogs lap his blood below after the executioner had got through his ghastly work. We cannot tell; yet we are free to surmise that such moving incidents had their effect, either from the actual beholding or the recital, upon the sympathetic spirit of the embryo patriot and churchman, from the intensity of his devotion to the cause of his country in his youthful days and his abhorrence of the cruel system which doomed her brightest and her best to ignominy in quiescence or torture and death if they dared to assert the spirit of freemen. All the environment was redolent of this spirit: futile resistance, imprescriptible oppression, were written upon the very stones of the streets and the fabrics which sprang up around. On the spikes of the Castle gates grinned the skulls of those whom the English called traitors then as in the days of Shane the Proud; the Birmingham Tower, close by, showed from whence the gallant boy-princes, O'Neill and O'Donnell, had sought release from English thraldom at the risk of their lives. Across the street, at Cork-hill, stood the house at which Lord Maguire and the leaders of the revolt of 1641 plánned their abortive attack on the stronghold of British power in Ireland; a few hundred yards away, off Thomas street, was the building in which Emmet planned his assault and piled up his munitions of war; close by was the spot, opposite St. Catharine's Church, where he paid with his life the ransom of his bold attempt; a few yards further and the patriot came upon the house in which the gallant Geraldine, Lord Edward, was trapped by the red-coated hunters and fell like a soldier. In the vaults of St. Werburgh's Church, a few yards off, reposed the coffin which enclosed his dust. The spirit of Swift and Molyneux and

Lucas still hovered over the old Council Chamber on the brow of the Castle hill; the burning periods of Grattan thrilled the atmosphere beyond the walls of that legislative fabric soon to become a temple of the money-changers. The mute memorials of a defeated but unsubdued nationality were all around; and the air was vibrant with tokens of its returning life. Back lane, where the sturdy Catholic Committee had voiced its vitality so often, under the leadership of John Keogh, was within a stone's throw of the Kenrick home. The fearless Daniel O'Connell was speaking with a Stentor's voice in denunciation of the immeasurable wrong which at once stifled the religious liberty of his countrymen and their civil freedom.

Gloomy apprehensions had pictured the melancholy results which must follow the Act of Union; a lowering of the moral prestige of the nation must be accompanied with material losses to its arts, its industries and its commerce. More swiftly than had been anticipated these forebodings were borne out by the event. The withdrawal of the nobility and Parliamentary representatives to London had almost instantly brought ruin to many Dublin mercantile firms. That city had long been enriched by the almost constant presence of a rich and prodigal aristocracy, luxurious in its tastes and full of rivalry in display of equipage and retinue. At one blow all the arts and industries of which this proud society was the pillar were stricken down. The great mansions of the nobles, both in town and country, were shut up or devoted to sordid uses, while their owners drained the island of vast sums of money in the shape of rent, to be squandered in London or at the Continental gaming tables. Within a few years of the passage of the Union measure a very large proportion of the mercantile houses of the metropolis, which had been in prosperous circumstances while Parliament sat there, had filed petitions in

bankruptcy. The public debt of the country had increased in inverse ratio to the falling-off in its resources. While it had stood at only a little over two million pounds before the Union, in four years' time after that event it had mounted up to the enormous total of more than fifty-four millions. Imports of manufactured articles from England began at the same time to drive those of Ireland out of the home market, by reason of their lower price, though inferior quality. Despite this decreasing exchequer, the screw of taxation succeeded in drawing greatly enhanced sums from the pockets of the people, so that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was enabled to make a cynical jest about the prosperity of the country as indicated by his increased receipts, while in the very same year he was obliged to bring in a bill for the relief of the people whom Pitt's policy had made homeless and penniless public burdens. Little wonder that the whole island was seething with discontent when it found itself thus cajoled, deceived and betrayed, or that the Ministry found itself unable to proceed without recurring again and again to the time-worn panacea for every Irish ill, a fresh Coercion Act.

All through these years of multiplying evils the religious difficulty grew more and more in tension and menace to the public peace. Far from finding relief from the United Parliament, as Pitt and Castlereagh had promised, the Irish Catholics found only an intensified persecution. That nefarious institution, the Orange Society, was encouraged openly in its war of aggression upon Ulster Catholics and obstruction of every concession sought for the general body by the liberal-minded few in Parliament. Arms were furnished the lodges from the governmental arsenals; agents of the Government were sent down from Dublin to organize lodges in districts where none had existed, and to excite animosity against the Catholic resi-

dents. These things are vouched for by the impartial loyalist historian, Mr. Plowden. When the Catholic Committee organized a movement for redress it was met by the odious device known as the Convention Act, a measure ostensibly directed against revolutionary purposes, but in reality intended to extinguish the constitutional rights of public meeting and free speech—in Ireland only—for no such procedure would be tolerated in any other part of the United Kingdom. This tyrannical instrument was invoked at the first moment that the Catholic agitation became troublesome; under its provisions the Catholic Committee was suppressed and two of its leading members—Dr. Sheridan and Mr. Kirwan—were prosecuted, tried before a packed jury, and, as a matter of course, condemned.

Now by every one of these occurrences the active mind of young Kenrick must have been painfully impressed. They were the subject of discussion everywhere—by the family fireside, in the public mart, in the coffee houses, often in the pulpit. Is it matter for wonder that a young and ardent temperament like his should have been stirred to its depths by sympathy with the victims of so much wrong? More sluggish spirits had been roused to action against it; finer natures like his quivered under its galling provocation.

If any outside student of historical development ever imagined that the relaxation of the more odious enforcement of the penal laws meant justice or leniency to the Catholic population, he labored under an egregious error. If priest-hunting had ceased, the practice of ostracism, public and private, reigned in unrestricted acerbity. But there was more than ostracism: there was no redress for injury for a Catholic against a non-Catholic. The statute of Kilkenny, which declared it no crime to kill one of "the Irishry," had been, it is true, repealed; but there was a

law not less effective because not on the statute-book which forbade twelve men in a jury box from allowing a Papist the benefits of the British Constitution. The means by which this frustration of Magna Charta was secured is simplicity itself. It is the science of jury-packing. The Crown claims the right of unlimited challenge in all important trials; for the words, "Stand aside," at the calling of any particular juror's name it is not called upon to give any reason. On the other hand, the right of the accused to challenge is limited to a few without any reason assigned, and to a few more for cause shown—even in cases of high treason and treason-felony. That system flourishes in Ireland to the present day, although it was held up to the odium of the whole civilized world when it passed under the review of the three Law Lords of the British House of Peers in the famous appeal of Daniel O'Connell and his fellow-traversers against the Crown in the year 1844.

Perhaps some clue to the aversion with which Francis Patrick Kenrick is said to have regarded O'Connell, at least for some time, is to be found in the change which occurred in the latter's views on the subject of a salaried Irish clergy later on. This change estranged a good many of those who had formerly supported the Liberator with voice and purse. Among others it aroused in the formidable "J. K. L." the warmth of righteous anger, as will be seen by this extract from a speech delivered by him at a meeting in Carlow in the year 1825: "What my opinion was I declared in London to my right reverend brethren; I repeated it since in Dublin: that if the prelates were led to approve of a provision emanating from the Treasury—if the ministers of Christ were to be paid by the ministers of State for dispensing the mysteries of God—then in that case I would not create dissension among them; but sooner than that my hand

should be soiled by it, I would lay down my office at the feet of him who conferred it, for if my hand were to be stained with Government money it should never grasp a crozier, or a mitre ever afterwards be fitted to my brow. This was, and is, my fixed determination."

The Veto was a project which the Irish people at large stigmatized as an attempt to make a bishop a surpliced dragoon and a priest a policeman in the confession box. In the long course of the country's connection with Rome nothing ever occurred that went so dangerously near imperilling the stability of the tie. The Irish bishops and clergy, almost to a man, declared their hostility to it. The hierarchy held a meeting, put their sentiments on the subject on paper, in the shape of a strongly worded remonstrance, and despatched it, by the hands of Dr. Murray, coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin, to lay it at the feet of the Holy Father. But the protest was disregarded, for the English faction at Rome was then powerful, and the Pope had not had sufficient opportunity, since his liberation, to look into the true merits and significance of the question. Dr. Murray (afterwards a warm friend of young Kenrick's) returned to Dublin with his tidings of evil, and the assembled prelates, having heard the message, again formulated their solemn warning, this time in stronger phraseology still. They said:

"Though we sincerely venerate the venerable Pontiff as visible head of the Church, we do not conceive that our apprehensions ought to be removed by any determination of His Holiness adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions and the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy, the Very Rev. Dr. Murray, who in that quality was more competent to inform His Holiness of the real state and interest of the Roman Catholic Church

in Ireland than any other with whom he is said to have consulted."

This outspoken resolution was signed by every one of the bishops, and Dr. Murray was again despatched to Rome, this time accompanied by Dr. Moylan, of Cork. Meantime a vehement agitation against the veto burst out all over the country, led at first by Daniel O'Connell and afterwards by the fearless "J. K. L."—the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Right Rev. Dr. Doyle. The opponents of the veto triumphed in the end, but not without a long struggle. We may be confident that young Kenrick was fully alive to all that was going on around him at this dangerous crisis. Though he chose Pope Pius VII. as his model of constancy in after life, it would be unreasonable to think that over this particular episode he took it as a safe or judicious example in dealing with questions into which he had not had the advantage of personally informing himself.

Justice demands, ere this episode be dismissed, that Monsignor Quarantotti should be held blameless as to the birth of the veto idea. Both in Mr. Plowden's History and the Rev. Father Brennan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland" the blame is laid at the door of the English Prime Minister, William Pitt. Lord Castlereagh was made the medium of the negotiation. In the year 1799 ten of the Irish bishops, constituting the Board of Maynooth College, held an official meeting in Dublin to consider a proposal from the Government of a State endowment to all the Catholic bishops, the *quid pro quo* to be acceptance of the veto rule. Besides this tempting offer, Lord Castlereagh, according to Father Brennan, gave solemn assurances that the acceptance of the Government's proposals would immediately secure a measure of emancipation for the Catholic population, and on the decision the fate of that great national question depended.

"Thus beset," says Father Brennan, "by the proffers of the Minister on the one hand and by the alarming posture of the country on the other, the bishops already alluded to agreed 'that in the appointment of Roman Catholic prelates to vacant sees within the Kingdom such interference of Government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed is just, and ought to be agreed to.' This statement was accompanied with an admission 'that a provision, through Government, for the Roman Catholic clergy of this Kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.'" Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, was one of those who agreed to this resolution, also the Primate, Dr. O'Reilly, of Armagh, as well as Dr. Moylan, of Cork. The transaction was kept secret for eleven years, and before the disclosure was made several of the prelates who signed the resolution had put their hands to another declaring it to be inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode previously observed in the nomination of the Irish Catholic bishops.

It is easy, therefore, to believe that Monsignor Quarantotti had been led into a mistake about the disposition of the Irish bishops on the one hand regarding the proposed veto, and of the Government on the other regarding the question of Catholic emancipation. The eminent Dr. Milner was quoted in Parliament as having sanctioned the offer of the veto, but he published a letter stating that he had no authority to sanction such an offer. It remains still unexplained from what quarter emanated the idea that such a proposal might find acceptance at the hands of the Irish hierarchy—possibly one of the numerous secret agents of William Pitt.

Looking back at this whole veto incident, pregnant as it was with evil potentialities to the whole Church, not merely in Ireland, but throughout the world at large, it

is difficult to escape the conclusion that its origin is to be traced to a design to rend the Church by schism, and so destroy it, rather than to a political motive. Such a suspicion did it certainly generate in the quick and penetrating mind of Edmund Burke. That great thinker, who had never faltered in effort for the emancipation of the Catholics, thus masterfully portrayed the fallacies of the idea and the mischief it was likely to develop in case it were carried into effect, in his public "Letter to a Peer:" "Never were the members of one religious sect fit to appoint pastors to another. Those who have no regard for their welfare, reputation, or internal quiet will not appoint such as are proper. The Seraglio of Constantinople is as equitable as we are, and where their own sect is concerned, fully as religious; but the sport which they make of the miserable dignities of the Greek Church, the factions of the Harem, to which they make them subservient, the continual sale to which they expose and re-expose the same dignity, and by which they squeeze all the inferior orders of the clergy, is nearly equal to all the other oppressions together exercised by Mussulmen over the unhappy members of the Oriental Church. It is a great deal to suppose that the present Castle would nominate bishops for the Roman Church of Ireland with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they cannot, perhaps they dare not do it." To Dr. Hussey, Bishop of Waterford, Burke also wrote: "I am sure that the constant meddling of your bishops and clergy with the Castle, and the Castle with them, will infallibly set them ill with their own body. All the weight which the clergy have hitherto had to keep the people quiet will be wholly lost if this once should happen. At best you will have *a masked schism, and more than one kind, and I am greatly mistaken if this is not intended, and diligently and systematically pursued.*"

All through his life love of his native land was a marked characteristic of Dr. Kenrick. Patriotism in him was inseparable from faith and virtue; it could have, indeed, no real existence without the one or the other. In the priest patriotism differs from the estimate of it formed by the layman, in very many cases. Though it be a shining virtue, its brilliancy is derived from the supernal light of faith and the constant communion with God which is the exalted privilege of the priest. In the performance of his sacred duty, in whatsoever region of the globe his lot may be cast, he perceives the first and most imperative service he is called upon to render on earth; and it is in the fulfilment of that grateful office that he finds the solace and satisfaction which soften the asperity of prolonged exile and severance of all the ties that make home and fatherland so cherished of all other men. Whithersoever God calls is the true priest's land; and it is this fact which explains the phenomena so often witnessed of a dual loyalty in operation among the Catholic priesthood in the United States—an enthusiastic devotion to the flag and the Constitution of their adopted country, and an undying interest in the fortunes and interests of the land of their nativity. Hence in the exercise of his sacred office, either as priest or bishop, Francis Patrick Kenrick saw no lines of nationality or ethnology. All men were alike to him—brethren in Christ. Many races marched under the banners of the Crusaders, but they forgot not their own particular nationality. The charity of the priest must be larger still. He recognizes no foes, even among those against whom he is bound to fight. Mahometan and Buddhist alike appeal to his humanity and his charity, as well as fellow-Christian.

All those who were brought into close contact with Francis Patrick Kenrick, either as priest or as prelate, were profoundly struck by one great distinguishing char-

acteristic. It is one that may be described as *sui generis*. Unquestioning faith is the inherent attribute of the Irish race, as a general rule. This faith takes the form of a childlike trust in God as well as a profound reverence for the truths of God and the things of His ministry. That faith was possessed by this typical Irishman in a pre-eminent degree. It shone translucently in his every act of life. There never lived a man who more implicitly trusted in God, placed his fate in His divine hands, or sought His guidance in the important things of life, than he. This sublime confidence was reflected in the cheerful glance of his eye, the turn of his speech, the kindly intonation of his voice. Every step he took in the planting and development of Church and seminary was marked by a sense of confidence begotten of the consciousness of support from on high. God had been called upon by him, again and again, to light his human way, and God had not failed to answer in His own mysterious manner. The supplicant needed all the strength derivable from such a restraining source, for trials lay before him and tasks were set for his hands to accomplish as great, perhaps, as had fallen to the lot of any individual priest or prelate since the early days of the Church.

This perfection of Christian faith was not a plant of slow growth in the case of either of the Kenricks. It was a family heritage. It manifested itself in the early instruction of the two children by their devout parents and in the responsive acceptance by their youthful minds of the truths of religion as naturally as the blessing of the sunshine and the balmy airs of heaven. That most beautiful attribute when seen in early boyhood, an ardent and unaffected piety and a natural inclination toward the things of God and His Church, exhibited itself in both cases in a singular degree—so much so, indeed, that both were enrolled in a purgatorian sodality almost from in-

fancy, and so little difference existed between their respective conceptions of their duty and responsibility as members of this spiritual band, although a nine years' interval separated their ages, that when Francis Patrick relinquished his place in the sodality on leaving for Rome, his brother was, notwithstanding his extreme youth, promoted to the vacant place. At this time they were respectively only eighteen and nine years of age! Boys rarely develop devotion so deep in very early years. They may be exemplary and attentive to what they are taught as articles of faith, but as a rule their minds are not deeply impressed with the profounder mysteries of the communion of saints, nor is the symmetry of the whole sublime edifice of salvation perceptible to the mind's eye as in a maturer period. It may be accepted as a certain token of the higher destiny when the tender mind of youth is thus illuminated by the rays of a faith which in other minds demands cultivation and a rationalizing process for the thorough comprehension of its logical basis. Only those familiar with Irish ideals can imagine with what joy the parents of children so blessed observe the symptoms of a religious vocation as they are thus gradually unfolded; and especially keen must be the delight and gratitude when such symptoms are not confined to one member of the family. To have given children to God is indeed the crowning delight of an Irish mother and the highest blessing that could be brought to any household, high or low.

This simple, abiding, absolute faith exists nowhere stronger than in Ireland. It has a royal virtue in it—like the glorious sun, which shines not for itself alone, but sheds its blessings over a whole mighty system. The faith of the Irish has made faith in many others, by merely beholding the sincerity and depth of it. No agency was more decisive in bringing about Newman's conversion

than the effect of Catholic faith on the people who professed it. How deeply he must have been impressed with the continuous, all-environing proofs of that faith which he saw while he sojourned in Ireland! If ever a scintilla of lingering doubt floated back on the waves of introspection, the entire abandonment of self in the worship of God which came under his eyes daily during his residence in the Green Isle must have annihilated it.

In his Apologia (part vii.) he says: "People say that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is difficult to believe; I did not believe the doctrine till I was a Catholic. I had no difficulty in believing it as soon as I believed that the Catholic Roman Church was the oracle of God, and that she had declared this doctrine to be part of the original revelation. It is difficult, impossible to imagine, I grant—but how is it difficult to believe? Yet Macaulay thought it so difficult to believe that he had need of a believer in it of talents as eminent as Sir Thomas More before he could bring himself to conceive that the Catholics of an enlightened age could resist 'the overwhelming force of the argument against it.' 'Sir Thomas More,' he says, 'is one of the choice specimens of wisdom and virtue, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation is a kind of proof charge. A faith which stands that test will stand any test.' But for myself, I cannot indeed prove it, I cannot tell *how* it is, but I say, 'Why should it not be? What's to hinder it? What do I know of substance or matter? Just as much as the greatest philosophers, and that is nothing at all.' "

The Irish imagination certainly is equal to the requirement deemed impossible by this great divine, although it might be impossible to narrow down the conception or the idea to the terms of a proposition or a formula. Had Newman been an Irishman he need not have penned the confession of such an inability.

CHAPTER II.

STUDENT LIFE IN THE ETERNAL CITY.

Another denotement of vocation of the two Kenricks was the faculty of receptivity. In the acquirement of knowledge and the desire of learning all things necessary for the life of the priest Francis Patrick Kenrick early displayed an aptitude and an earnestness which singled him out among his schoolmates.

He was only eighteen when he received the glad news that he was one of those selected to go to Rome to study at the far-famed Propaganda College. Fired with the prospect of drinking in learning at the fountain-head, of studying amidst the tombs of the Apostles, of imbibing from the wisdom of all nations and ages stored in the great libraries of the Church, of treading the ground sanctified by the footsteps of the martyrs and confessors of the early days, he started full of the noblest ambitions and enthusiasms. He came in the days in which the Church was jubilant with the awakening from the long nightmare of French persecution. Pope Pius VII. had been restored to his long-bereaved people and capital, and the breath of freedom once more blew over Rome. The gentle bearing of the much-tried Pontiff made an indelible impression on the mind of the young Levite. The meekness and humility of the Divine Master were reflected in the spirit in which His Vicegerent had met persecution, and the constancy of the martyrs in the front he had shown to all the overtures of Bonaparte to lower the Church to the status of a dependent portion of his civil system. These two lessons sank into the heart of the young student. They gave him those ideals of conduct which in after-life were to exercise so powerful an influ-

ence on his own career and the fortunes of the then infant Church in the New World.

The years of study at the Propaganda for young Kenrick were the span of Jacob's first service to Laban. In that span he had made himself famous. He had won renown as a scholar; he had gained a reputation for sanctity never surpassed by any student. Tried in the crucible for the sacred ministry, his assay had been made and the purity of the metal demonstrated. But he was seen to be the possessor of more than learning and sanctity: the discerning eye of Rome had noted in him those qualities which make leaders in the Church—the mind to conceive, the genius to plan, the patience to endure, and the charity to conquer. These were precisely the qualities that were needed in the new spheres where the prospects for the Church were beginning to unfold themselves before the eyes of her holy ambition. There came, at that moment, a call for help from the new field. Bishop Flaget, of Kentucky, was in sore need of some help in his mission, especially in the department of theology in his newly-established seminary. Father Kenrick had passed brilliantly in this branch. Though he had gained high honors in the department of science, his courses in sacred literature, especially theology, had been uncommonly distinguished; he was an exceptionally successful competitor, indeed, in every branch of clerical study—philosophy, literature, languages, science—and to these gifts of intellect he added the advantages of acumen, resolution, ready wit and that unfailing cheerfulness of disposition which is the characteristic of the mind whose whole trust is in God and is prepared to do whatever it recognizes as the Divine will at all times and under all temporal conditions. There is in the texture of the Irish mind a peculiar fitness for the study and mastery of theology and scholastic philosophy. A proof

that it is even capable of more than mastering the principles of analysis, but of the synthetical art as well, is afforded in the case of the famous doctor, Scotus Erigena, whose scheme was so grand and daring as to elicit from Dr. Erdmann, of Halle, a comparison between the brilliant Irishman and the Emperor Charlemagne: both created mighty empires doomed to perish with their own lives. Though it remained for the Angelic Doctor to blend harmoniously the principles of mediæval philosophy with the truths of the ancient school, the Irish doctor had grasped the idea not less boldly, although he failed to work it out on terms acceptable to Christian scholasticism. The Celtic spirit is indeed by nature attuned to the inaudible and intangible pulsations of the realm of fancy and metaphysical suggestion; though in speaking of the illustration afforded by this great doctor it cannot be forgotten that he is an example rather of the Celtic intellect carried to excess in the genius for subtlety than of the ultimate luminousness and grasp of the elusive and cryptic truth which makes the true theologian emerge from the struggling philosopher, like the butterfly from the chrysalis.

It was remarked, while young Kenrick pursued his studies in Rome, that he was in his methods an exception to the ordinary run of students. For instance, he confined himself to his class-books for the acquisition of that learning which was indispensable for the sacred calling; he would accept no treatises on the subjects in hand. He preferred to ponder over what he had imbibed from the class-books themselves, to weigh its meaning, to work out in his own mind the abstruse problems they presented, and so to train his own reasoning faculties that no intellectual question that the future might present for his consideration should find him unprepared. In this respect he differed widely from men who since his time

made for themselves a great name in the literary world—showy men like Macaulay, for instance. He and a few others of similar ambitions were noted for their insatiable appetite for reading. That these men were "omnivorous readers" is the assurance their biographers give admiringly, as if literary esuriency or gluttony were a certain guarantee of the most exalted genius. The theological faculty in Rome do not share this view. The professor who taught young Kenrick complained of the injury which students did themselves by too much reading and too little meditation upon their proper studies. This was not the way with young Kenrick, he told the learned Jesuit, Father M. O'Connor. With the aid of a good memory, retaining what he had heard in the lecture-room, and a logical mind, he was enabled to solve for himself in the quiet of his study or his evening stroll many things which minds more encumbered by floating and heterogeneous atoms of thought must have given up in despair. This meditative habit has been a characteristic of the greatest masters of dialectics. In Newman it was particularly prominent. In an Irishman it is a somewhat rare quality; an abnormal sensitiveness in apprehension and a preternatural power of intuition, as it were, have been the especial denotements of the most gifted men of the race. These intellectual ear-marks were not wanting in young Kenrick; they were native-born, whereas the meditative habit seems to have been a self-acquired addition. It was a most serviceable resource in after-life, for it was remarked by many that he never yielded to impulse, and all his action in office was the result of calm deliberation, springing from the never-failing source of a perfect faith and an invincible trust in the help of God.

If, however, treatises and glossaries and exegeses were unsought for in his scholastic years, two surer founts of

knowledge slaked his deeper thirst at all seasons of repose. These were the Sacred Scriptures and the writings of the early Fathers. To these he applied himself so diligently as to become in time master not only of their letter but their spirit. He pondered over its meaning as it breathed in every page of the inspired Book, until he became part and parcel of that message himself, so to speak, and everything that later flowed from his pen reflected the light transmitted and infused from that vitalizing focus. Every sermon and pastoral and address of whatsoever kind revealed the intellect informed and operating by that supernal light, and ductile under its influence as the metal in the crucible to the fire. The richness of the Scriptures in treasures of soul and treasures of mind was irresistibly borne home to his understanding as he advanced in his studies: no form of human learning, no phase of human thought, no suggestion of the spiritual life, he found, but had been anticipated and illustrated in greater or less degree by the heaven-guided pens which left to mankind the inestimable thesaurus. To his mental gaze it was the vast mirror whose lucid depths reflected the profundity of God. The patristic writings were, next to the Scriptures, the great occupation of his reading hours. He took no translations of them; he soon made himself master of the originals, and, pondering on the significance of each passage as he read, allowed them to take root in his memory, so that ever afterwards when their authority was appealed to or questioned, in the course of discussion, he was always ready to furnish the reference and the opinion needed. His delight in those majestic heritages was as the enthusiasm of a child. The glowing sentences of Chrysostom and Ambrose, no less than the irresistible logic of Augustine, forged and fashioned the armory of his mind in shape of beauty and intrenchability as the shield of

Achilles in the smithy of the gods. By their aid he found himself able to detect and combat the ever-evolving Protean forms of old heresies, masking in modern garbs, but always inspired of the same idea. Manichæism, Gnosticism, Pelagianism, Donatism, Arianism—these were the hounds that, reappearing again and again in various guise, still pursue

> " the milk-white hind,
> Oft doomed to death, yet fated not to die."

All through his life, the hours not given to the offices of religion and needful rest were devoted to study. He was untiring in his study of Church history in its every phase. His vision was keen enough for its deepest perspective, whether stretching away into the infinite, the middle distance of metaphysics, or the tangible ecliptic of history. Its philosophy, its canon law, its mundane organization and mechanical apparatus, so to speak, he would fain master, so that he might be always prepared with historical precedent for action as well as doctrinal authority for springs of action. His erudition in all these aspects of his great subject found full expression in the noble literary works which he has left the world.

When one looks back over the rugged path of the infant Church in the United States, it is impossible to avoid a sense of the marvelous. If the story of the superhuman endurance of the men and women who testified to Christ in the agony of torture fill the mind with sacred awe, hardly less profound is the feeling stirred by the achievements of the prelates and priests who parcelled out the wilderness into dioceses, cleared the soil of forest and boulder and reared the fabrics of the Church in every region, in those pioneer days. Astonishment is superadded to reverence, when the fame of the writer is found linked with the glory of the church-builder. To

think that while men rough-hewing the edifice of the Church could find time and temperament for such recondite literary work as Archbishop Kenrick has left us, is truly to consider the incomprehensible to the ordinary literary mind. Distractions and responsibilities are in the multitude of cases fatal to the idea of connected literary production: only a transcendental habit of mind, a cool depth of intellectual repose, in which the currents of thought flow in leisurely certitude, could admit of truly great work under such conditions as many of the splendors of the Hierarchical firmament here produced in those pristine days. They were men of Promethean intellect, often torn, too, with Promethean pain. But they had got the Divine fire—by free gift, not by presumptuous rapine. Let but the reader recall the facts of the beginning of the Church in Kentucky—the saintly Bishop Flaget having for cathedral a log hut sixteen feet square; let him behold the students preparing for the ministry at Bardstown by hewing the timber from the forest, making the bricks and mortar with their own hands; let the mind's eye behold the strange spectacle of bishop and priest and lay brother, all toiling like beavers, with doffed coats and rolled-up shirt sleeves in the manner of the poorest day laborers. Then it will be realized that the Apostolic days did truly come again, on a new continent, and that it was the Apostolic spirit which breathed over the birth of this new pledge to civilization.

A dual sort of valor is that of the Apostle. He must have both the courage that dares and the courage that bears. Any one who gazes upon the lineaments of Archbishop Kenrick, as transmitted by the skill of the painter, must own to a sense of such possession. The original, it will be felt, was a man cast in the veritable heroic mould. A man of purpose indomitable, of decision unalterable; a man whose mind once made up, by the argu-

ments of his judgment, was made up forever. This is the sort of courage that dares: the bright, kindly eye, the large upward curving mouth, the roguish play of the outer circles, tell of that cheerful habit of soul for which no difficulties, no dangers, moral or physical, have any terrors. A Celtic face, truly typical of the race and the country from whence it came—bearing up against adversity with the merry heart that, Shakespeare's old song tells us, goes half the way, yet never losing sight of the goal on which the eyes of its hope are fixed. That heroic spirit of endurance, which he had studied only to imitate, manifested by the sublime Pontiff, Pius VII., he was destined to show, in the mysterious workings of Providence, under remarkable circumstances, in after life; and so powerful was the lesson of his patience in the day of trial that it calmed the seething waves of persecution where no other form of magic could have had the slightest effect. It was from the demeanor of this martyr-Pope under persecution that he learned the lesson which thirty years later stood him in good stead when churches were burning and blood was flowing in his diocese of Philadelphia. When the call came for new priests for the American field, then it was shown that the courage that dares was his too. The Rector of the Propaganda, a venerable but most acute observer of character in his pupils, at once nominated young Kenrick. Although he was the most youthful of those recently ordained, his profound theological acumen pointed him out to the Rector for the post that immediately called for an occupant in Bardstown Theological Seminary, shortly before erected. Cardinal Litta was the Prefect of Propaganda. He was a man of austere holiness, and his ideas of rigid propriety were startled by the appointment of one so young as Father Kenrick to a chair of theology under such trying conditions as those necessarily attaching to

an experiment in a remote region and an unknown spiritual atmosphere, where the reins of authority were often with difficulty held and the surest of guidance was in the last degree desirable, both as regarded teachers and scholars. When he saw the Rector for the first time after the appointment had been made, he reproached him with some vehemence for sending one so young to a place where not only ripe experience and scholarship were demanded, but great physical endurance as well. The old Rector stood up warmly for the fitness of his *protégé*, insisting on his virtues and talents as sufficient for any requirement. Still the Prefect demurred; the extreme youth of the nominee appearing to him a fatal defect. Had he been Prefect at the time, the Cardinal said, the appointment never would have been made. The Rector fired up on hearing this, and blurted out his sentiments unceremoniously. "Well, then, your Eminence, it was the providence of God that prevented your appointment sooner!" he exclaimed. The Cardinal somewhat indignantly asked him to explain himself. "I mean that if you had been Prefect of the Propaganda sooner," replied the sturdy old Rector, "you would have deprived America of an Apostle." This bold prophetic outburst was soon justified by the result of Father Kenrick's advent. Bishop Flaget, after a fair trial of his young auxiliary, told the Propaganda that he had found him "remarkable for his piety, for his extensive acquirements, the quickness of his mind, and the natural eloquence with which he expressed himself."

CHAPTER III.

Beginning of Missionary Work in the New World.

Father Kenrick's tenure of the theological chair at Bardstown lasted nearly nine years. His familiarity with the Bible was confirmed and made permanent by those years of teaching; he became, as Lamartine declared of Bossuet, "the Bible transfused into a man." He increased his knowledge of the patristic writings by constant study; he familiarized himself with the most intricate problems of canon law; his stock of sacred lore was so extended as to cover all periods of ecclesiastical history. To these important qualifications for the office of theological pedagogue he added a faculty for systematizing methods; he was the economist of academics. His mode of developing his subjects was remarkable for skill, in the adjustment of the various grades of the argument to the capacity of the students and the range of their preparatory study. His rule was simplicity itself—never to undertake to teach others what he had not thoroughly mastered himself. He was as great an authority on the Bible as Bossuet; he ranked far above Bossuet as a teacher of the sacred writings because his temper, unlike that of the impatient and fiery "Eagle of Meaux," was perfectly amenable to self-discipline. When one considers the amount and variety of tasks he took upon his shoulders and successfully accomplished in those nine years in Kentucky, it is impossible to avoid astonishment at such wondrous proofs of power and industry. For not only did he fill the theological chair in the Seminary of St. Thomas, but he also discharged in St. Joseph's

College the duties of professor of Greek and professor of History. But he did not confine himself to Bardstown. He freely gave his aid to every educational institution in the State. Towards the establishment and maintenance of St. Joseph's he lent the most valuable service. Besides all this teaching and promotion work, he performed an amazing amount of apostolic duty, not only as pastor of the Bardstown congregation, but in the missionary field. The year 1826-27 was a jubilee year, and Father Kenrick threw himself into the work of grace which it brought with enthusiasm unbounded. He went the round of the whole diocese with Bishop Flaget, attracting multitudes with his irresistible oratory, winning many doubters over by the convincing power of his pulpit logic. But his exertions proved at length too much for his physical powers; he was stricken with a fever, from the sequelæ of which in after life he was never wholly freed. But for his suffering he was amply consoled in the knowledge that it had been incurred in the noble task of winning souls over to Christ.

During his stay in Bardstown Father Kenrick was called upon to enter the field of theological controversy. He could not evade the responsibility—by reason of the way in which the challenge had been thrown out. The local Protestant clergy were in an aggressive mood. They began a series of attacks upon Catholic dogma and doctrine, as though by preconcerted arrangement; and, however indisposed toward the policy of religious polemic Father Kenrick may naturally have been, he had no alternative, in face of such open provocation, but to defend those principles so daringly impeached. His antagonists had not confined their assaults even to the pulpits; they resorted to the public press. Foremost among them was the Rev. Dr. Blackburn, the president of Denville Presbyterian College. In the year 1828 he,

in a series of letters in the local press, assailed the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence; signing himself "Omega," as though he were another Goliah of Gath. Father Kenrick, over the more modest signature "Omicron," took up his pleadings and tore them one by one to shreds, just as he had done the attacks of the other preachers in their pulpit by his public "conferences on religion" delivered immediately after the preachers had concluded their daring onslaught. "Omega" was silenced, as these others were silenced; no more was heard from their theological batteries. Then came a Methodist minister, Dr. Light, who, taking advantage of Father Kenrick's absence on a distant mission, came forth to vindicate his sect from the aspersions cast upon it by the contentions of the Catholic champion. But immediately on the return of Father Kenrick his onslaught was met by a public refutation so overwhelming that not another word was heard from that quarter. The same fate overtook an Anglican clergyman who had the temerity to enter the lists, notwithstanding the overthrow of so many other super-zealous contestants. Then came the crowning victory. A Presbyterian divine had the temerity to attack Dr. Kenrick's arguments at a public meeting, and he was answered on the spot, impromptu, and before the same audience, by the indomitable defender. His chagrin was great; he rose to reply at the close of the refutation, but so convincing was the argument and so captivated were the audience, that even the Protestant portion of it deserted him; they would not listen to him, but left the hall along with their Catholic neighbors.

It is not probable that the modern idea of giving missions to non-Catholics had found expression at that time, but it is undeniable that Dr. Kenrick's jubilee missions were largely attended by Protestants. Fifty converts crowned his labor, while the remarkable number—

paucity of population and other circumstances of the time considered—of six thousand communicants and twelve hundred confirmations were the other external tokens of a great spiritual triumph for the eloquent missionary. An extraordinary record, in those days, for the work of one man. But the man was extraordinary, too; in what way he impressed his auditory in those memorable years we may glean from the picture presented by an admirer in the course of a letter from Bardstown which appeared in the *Catholic Miscellany* for 1830:

"As a pulpit orator this or any other country or age has produced few equal to Dr. Kenrick. Modest and unassuming in presenting himself, a stranger unless the whisper of fame had excited expectation, could not anticipate more than an ordinary pious discourse from him; but soon the workings of his mighty mind appear, and rivet the attention of his audience. In his exordium the tone of his voice was low but clear. A tinge of modesty suffuses his countenance, but he is never agitated. Without stating the points of his discourse with the formality of scholastic precision, his audience are enabled to perceive and mark them distinctly as he proceeds. He sees everything in a clear light, and exhibits everything clearly to others. His reasoning and arguments are cogent and powerful; his diction chaste, his language copious, his figures striking and appropriate, and his appeals to the heart irresistible. His sermons are generally short, and when he happens to dwell longer than usual, no part of his audience are ever tired when he closes. . . . In whatever point of view we regard his character—as a man, a scholar, a gentleman, a minister of the Gospel—we are forced—no, we are willing—to yield the tribute of admiration, affection, and veneration."

This, then, would appear to have been the secret of Dr. Kenrick's wonderful influence as a pulpit orator. While

he labored to convince the understanding, like Masillon he deemed it more important still to touch the heart. That was his talisman; that it was which kindled the glow of passion in his face as he warmed to his subject, and gave point and appropriateness to his helpful and graceful gestures, so that actors beholding him might be impelled like those who, seeing Masillon, cried out enthusiastically: "That's the real orator; we are only players!"

There was more than one point of similarity between those two widely separated exemplars of Celtic genius and piety. Kenrick and Masillon had each that profound humility which is the fundamental principle, after all, in the truly Christian mind, when the Christian is an anointed priest. This is, when we come to analyze the motive moral forces, the basic element in the virtue we call charity. This is not generosity in alms-giving, nor tolerance of others' faults, nor an easygoing good-nature, ready to excuse, palliate and overlook the shortcomings of one's fellow-creatures, but the spirit of sacrifice for their sake, the spirit that recognizes the Master in each member of the suffering household. Masillon had that spirit. It is related of him that

"He assisted the poor by his purse as well as by his pen, and obtained from the government a diminution of the heavy taxes that oppressed the province of Auvergne. He secretly sent twenty thousand livres to the Hospital of Clermont, and, hearing of a convent where the nuns, though in a state of starvation, would not complain for fear of being suppressed, he sent them sufficient funds, but with such secrecy that it was only after his death that they knew who had been their benefactor. He died as he had lived, revered by all, fearing the Lord, loving mankind, without money and without debt."

So with Dr. Kenrick. His charity was such that no sacrifice of personal feelings or wants could be too great

for him to make for its sake. An Italian missionary once visited Bardstown while the great preacher was absorbed in apostolic work. He relates how he saw this noble charity exemplified. "Let me here tell, to the honor of the priesthood and the confusion of modern philanthropists," he wrote, "that the missionary" (himself) "having one evening entered the professor's little room, had the consoling surprise to find the bed occupied by a sick beggar. We do not know by what accident the unfortunate man obtained such a privilege, but the fact is that with the professor's permission he occupied his bed. Such an example of tender charity excited in the spectator a strong desire to imitate it."

The year that witnessed the emancipation of the Catholics in his native country beheld the beginning of Dr. Kenrick's period of trial. Hitherto his life had flowed in a peaceful channel; now his course was to lie over a boulder-strown bed where the jagged rocks and whirling rapids threatened danger and destruction at every point to the bold navigator. It was in the year 1829 that he attended the Provincial Council of Baltimore, in the capacity of theologian to Bishop Flaget. He was appointed assistant secretary to this important assembly, but this initial honor was but an insignificant precursor of what was about to follow. The most engrossing subject for consideration at this Council was the melancholy condition of the Philadelphia diocese. Something like chaos reigned, indeed, in the ecclesiastical domain of that struggling diocese. To the Catholics of the present generation it would be a difficult task to attempt a realization of the conditions which vexed the incipient Church in many parts of the United States in those early days. Substantially it was a question of lawful authority in the spiritual realm *versus* actual power in the temporalities of the Church. The source of the trouble lay in the pecu-

liar relation of the Church to a State wherein no connection existed between the civil Constitution and the religion of the citizens, and wherein the laws of property demanded that ecclesiastical corporations, like secular ones, should have certain representatives before the law, vested with all the rights and endued with all the responsibilities of actual ownership. This necessitated the system of Trustees for Church property. Under the peculiar conditions in a new republic such a system was certain to develop extraordinary moral and legal complications. The spirit of individual independence and citizen right, when combined, as in many cases, with a moral myopia and an inability to perceive the fine boundaries between material concerns and spiritual obligations, tended toward the production of a state of perennial antagonism between the trustees in many parishes and the Bishops and clergy whose sore lot it was to hold their office subject to the whims and prejudices of such a class. There was no diocese wherein the conditions were more perturbed by such conflicts than that of Philadelphia, and before the Baltimore Council had finished its labors it had named Dr. Kenrick as the Daniel to enter this new den of lions and quell them into submission.

He were a bold man, truly, who, knowing the state of affairs that awaited him, undertook such a responsibility. Troubles there were in other dioceses owing to the same cause; but in Philadelphia, because of certain local conditions and the development of several abnormal evils, inside the Church as well as outside, the task had become a veritable Alcidean labor. The question is, did Dr. Kenrick realize the magnitude of the evil he was destined to confront and overthrow when the dangerous honor was thrust upon him. If he really did, as there appears reason to think he did, then of a verity he had the true Christian hero's heart, the calm courage which is not to

be terrified by the Medusa heads of real dangers or the moral bogies that sometimes start up in the imagination, even with the boldest, when venturing for the first time upon the unknown sea of moral conquest. He must certainly have had the premonition of a dark and sorrowful time to come, since his phrase was, on hearing that the Holy See had ratified the decision of the Council naming him as Coadjutor to the Bishop of Philadelphia, that he "pressed to his lips the chalice presented by the Vicegerent of Christ." It was an appropriate declaration. Physical dangers daunt less than moral ones. God's anointed shrinks not from the peril of the pest-house or the firing line when human souls cry out for help; but there is something in the prospect of long-drawn-out contention with exasperating pettifoggers and pragmatical ignoramuses, puffed up with personal vanity and insolence of office, to make a gentleman and a scholar recoil in dismay.

It is not to be supposed that all the trustee class, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, consisted of such impracticable and objectionable persons; many exemplary Catholics and fairly-educated men, as education went in those days, were comprised in their body. But there is overwhelming evidence of the capacity for evil of many of them, and of the disastrous influence the factious demagogues among them wrought to the Church. For a parallel to the scandals and humiliation caused by their perverse conduct we have to go back to the violent conflicts in the East and Africa, in the early times ere yet the Church had emerged from the mists of heresy into the calm region of defined doctrine. Even in that epoch of distraction might we experience some difficulty in finding an analogy for the peculiar mischiefs entailed by the singular pretensions of the trustee class in the American Church. In the memoirs of Prince Gallitzin, we read

that Father Lemke, who came to assist that noble priest in his work at Loretto, was appointed at first to a position in Philadelphia city, and soon came into collision with the trustee system. Fresh from Germany, where aristocratic ideas are even still absurdly in the ascendent, he was by training and temperament very ill fitted for the experience of another order of things wherein the conditions were completely reversed and "Jack is as good as his master." Originally a Lutheran, he had been converted to the old faith of Luther entirely through a close study of that arch-heresiarch's own writings. A Lutheran centenary happened when he came to Philadelphia, and brought some extravagant efforts from Lutheran pulpits and papers, to which Father Lemke deemed it his duty, for truth's sake, to reply from his pulpit, since there was no one better able to administer correction than one who had discovered for himself the fallacy of the "reformer's" teachings. He preached on the subject, to his own satisfaction, and was comfortably enjoying his dinner on the same Sunday afternoon, when three of the trustees were ushered into his room. The foremost opened the business in hand by complimenting him on the excellence of the sermon on Luther, and then brusquely added: "As we wish to live in peace and quiet with our neighbors, we wish to tell you we will have no more sermons like that." Father Lemke had all the hot blood of a Prussian junker at this time; he was new to the cassock, and not long out of the army. It stirred him. He sprang up and seized the poker on the fender, and brandished it threateningly. "You tailors, you butchers, you carpenters!" he thundered. "How dare you dictate to me what way I shall preach the Gospel? Get out of this instantly, else I'll teach you manners." The chronicler adds that they did so, but it is also recorded that Father Lemke found it advisable to relinquish his post in Philadelphia. He was

not suited to the ways of democracy, nor democracy to his.

From Bardstown the new prelate immediately addressed a letter to the clergy and laity of Philadelphia, announcing his appointment and expressing in noble words the charity which he already felt toward the flock confided to his pastoral care—a touching and beautiful appeal, only to be disregarded, unhappily, for the time by the headstrong and insensate factions whose unholy squabbling were bringing contempt, and even worse—ruin itself—upon the Church in Philadelphia.

Dr. Kenrick's official designation in the Bulls was Bishop of Arath *in partibus* and Coadjutor Bishop of Philadelphia. Full powers of administration in the diocese were conferred subsequently. His consecration took place at Bardstown on the 6th of June, 1830 (the feast of the Holy Trinity), at the hands of his revered master, Bishop Flaget, and in the presence of all the Catholics of the vicinity.

Besides Bishop Flaget there were also present the Bishop of Philadelphia, Dr. Conwell; Dr. David, Coadjutor Bishop of Louisville; the Bishop of Charleston, Dr. England; and the Bishop of Cincinnati, Dr. Fenwick. To the eloquent Bishop England fell the task of delivering the consecration sermon on the occasion. It was on the vigil of the feast celebrating the Invention of the Holy Cross that the disclosure was at length made. There was something prophetic in the form in which the sorrowing prelate made it. It is recorded in his own diary, as vouched for in Bishop Spalding's biography. "Behold here," he said, as he exhibited the official documents, "the certificate of the Cross you will have to carry."

The new Bishop was barely thirty-four years old. He needed the strength of youth for the task before him; youthful though he was, his mind was of the matured in

learning, in perspicuity, in steadfastness of purpose in the right. We can imagine the conflicting feelings with which the aged Bishop Flaget laid the sacred chrism upon one so dear to his heart, and without whose strong ministering help he must thenceforth journey painfully along the downward slope of life. The church was filled with the sorrowing admirers of the new prelate. He had won the affection as well as the respect of the Catholics of Bardstown in a measure rare indeed, even in those days when extraordinary virtue and talent were the characteristics of the prelacy and the priesthood in the Church of the wilderness, as it might be called. Mournfully they heard the news of his removal from their midst, but they were not so overwhelmed by it as to forget the requirements of the occasion. They tendered the new prelate an appropriate token of their feelings, in the shape of a beautiful chalice, together with an address bearing eloquent testimony to the impression which Dr. Kenrick had made on the whole community by his nine years' sojourn in Bardstown.

This pleasing valedictory function was by no means out of place under the peculiar circumstances. It was somewhat in the nature of a royal sunset pageant cheering the souls of voyagers about to plunge into a night of Cimmerian horror on the treacherous deep. The sea of troubles which Bishop Kenrick was called upon to face and to allay in the Philadelphia diocese might well appal the stoutest heart. It is not pleasant to revive or dwell upon them, but it is impossible for the biographer to ignore them, inasmuch as they are part and parcel of the subject in hand and affected the life of Bishop Kenrick just as deeply as he, by the force of his character, affected them. To be as brief in regard to them as the necessities of the work will permit is an obvious requirement of consideration for the reader and charity toward the actors

in scenes so saddening that no Catholic cares to recall them save for their use in pointing the moral of egotism and obstinacy and the usurpation of lawful authority by pragmatic officiousness.

Philadelphia had originally formed part of the diocese of Baltimore, but in the year 1808 Father Michael Egan, O. S. F., of Galway, Ireland, was, on the recommendation of Archbishop Carroll, appointed Bishop of the new diocese of Philadelphia by Pope Pius VII., and by the same bull created Vicar-General of the territory embraced in its limits. He was given special charge of St. Mary's Church, in the city. Besides St. Mary's there were at that time but three other churches within the place—viz., St. Joseph's, Holy Trinity, and St. Augustine's. Prior to Bishop Egan's consecration, which did not take place until the year 1810, Archbishop Carroll had addressed a communication to the trustees of the respective churches in the city, asking them to make provision for the expenses of the consecration and installation of a Bishop, as well as for his permanent support thereafter. This, the Archbishop explained, was the requirement of the Holy See whenever new Bishops were appointed, in order that these dignitaries should be independent of public favor and devoid of apprehension regarding means of support. The Philadelphia churches were required to fix a salary for the new Bishop, commensurate with the dignity of his office and beyond the control of the trustees or any other influence. The trustees of St. Mary's Church agreed to raise four hundred dollars yearly, and those of Holy Trinity and St. Augustine's respectively two hundred dollars each per annum, for the same purpose. On receiving these guarantees Archbishop Carroll proceeded then, and not till then, with the consecration, which took place in St. Peter's, Baltimore, on October 28, 1810. On taking formal charge of his diocese

Bishop Egan found the trustees of St. Mary's, who claimed to be owners and proprietors of the cathedral, assuming a very dictatorial tone, and he immediately set to work to inquire into the grounds of their haughty claims. Then he found that these claims were entirely baseless, inasmuch as there existed a deed, one of the witnesses to which was still alive, bestowing the church and ground (May 23d, 1763) on the Rev. Robert Harding. The first real trouble with the trustees of St. Mary's began when they were applied to for the expenses of Bishop Egan's consecration. This particular point they had evaded, it was found, on again looking over their reply to the Archbishop's original letter. The trustees now declared they had no funds to meet those expenses, and bluntly demanded that one of the priests of St. Mary's be dispensed with, as they could not pay the salaries of the Bishop and his priests.

Then was witnessed a truly extraordinary incident, one without parallel, perhaps, in the annals of the Catholic Church. The Bishop appealed to the pewholders and called them to a meeting in order to settle the matter, when the trustees insolently interfered with a protest, denouncing the Bishop's action in such terms as recalled the conflicts of the people and pastors in the days of the Roundheads and Covenanters. They denounced it as "riotous, disorderly, pernicious, and unchristian," and read him a lecture on "the pacific, harmonious, and Christian spirit which pastors should cherish toward their flocks." This protest they distributed all over the city. This outrageous proceeding demanded public condemnaiton, and it received it at the hands of the people assembled in public meeting at St. Joseph's on the 21st of September, 1812, whereat the Bishop's action was upheld. But these daring trustees were not so easily disposed of. They actually applied to the Legislature for an amend-

ment to the charter of St. Mary's Church, whereby they might exclude the clergy from the board; but in this move they were frustrated through the activity of the Bishop.

A new board of trustees came into office in the ensuing year, and these were not a whit behind their predecessors in undutiful frowardness and insolent dictation. With a view to coercing the Bishop into recalling a priest whom he had been obliged to remove (Father Harold, uncle of another whom he still kept as an assistant) they held a meeting behind the backs of Bishop and clergy and resolved to cut down the salary of both Bishop and assistants to four hundred dollars a year. Furthermore, they issued an address to the congregation full of violent language toward the Bishop and containing a financial statement of a misleading character; and this they followed up by a couple of letters, couched in similar insulting language, to Archbishop Carroll, which drew from that venerable prelate the quiet reproof that "correspondence should cease when it was no longer mutually respectful."

These trials, added to the fatigues and hardships of episcopal visitations, in those days of scanty facilities for travel and rest, told quickly on the physical system of Bishop Egan. He died in July, 1814, "the first victim of episcopal rights," as the Rev. P. Kenny wrote to Archbishop Carroll. He might have added, "and the contumacious conduct of some of his own priests," for Bishop Egan found trouble from the beginning with the two Fathers Harold, his assistants, so much that when enfeebled health rendered him unable to hold the chalice at Mass, they refused to aid him in the administration of holy communion to the faithful; one of them indeed was reported as having actually struck him during an altercation. Owing to the troubled state of the diocese no episcopal successor could be secured for some years, and its

affairs were conducted by the Rev. Louis de Barth, a German priest, until the year 1820, and meanwhile fuel had been added to the flames of disorder by the advent of a firebrand cleric named William Hogan, from Limerick, Ireland. Of a turbulent and egotistical disposition, this man had hardly set foot in the place ere he began to take advantage of its disturbed condition to further his own ends. Installed in the diocese before the arrival of the next Bishop, Dr. Conwell, Hogan devoted himself to the task of winning the recalcitrant trustees over to his cause—a not very difficult one, under the peculiar circumstances. The persecution to which Bishop Egan had succumbed, grievous though it was, was a mere tribulation as compared with that which his successor in office was, in God's providence, destined to undergo in the diocese of Philadelphia at the hands of Hogan, Matthew Carey, and the trustees of St. Mary's Cathedral.

The Rev. Henry Conwell, a venerable and learned Irish ecclesiastic, who had in turn filled the posts of parish priest of Dungarvan and Vicar-General of Armagh, had been given the option of the sees of Philadelphia and Madras, as a result of the clerical changes necessitated by the death of Archbishop Reilly, Irish primate, and early predilections led him to choose the former. His friends, in view of his advanced age (he was then about sixty-three years old) endeavored to dissuade him and the authorities in Rome from the idea, but their remonstrances were overruled, and the appointment was duly made. He was consecrated in England by Bishop Poynter and in December, 1820, accompanied by a young Irish ecclesiastical student, Bernard Keenan, he arrived in Philadelphia. No sooner was he installed in his see than the trouble with Hogan was upon him. This man so far forgot his clerical calling as to mimic openly the speech and manner of the new Bishop from the pulpit. On

inquiring into the matter Bishop Conwell found that this ribald malcontent had no proper status as a priest of the diocese, either for permanent or temporary purposes, but had somehow imposed upon the interregnum Administrator, the Rev. Mr. Barth, despite the absence of credentials, so as to receive faculties. These Bishop Conwell promptly revoked. But if he thought to get rid of Hogan by such a step he was quickly undeceived. The mutineer had on his side the formidable body, St. Mary's trustees, and these lost no time in showing their quality to the newly-seated Bishop. They held a meeting and adopted an address to the Bishop calling for the reinstatement of the man after their own heart; and wound up by the false statement that St. Mary's Cathedral was the property of the laity, on whom the clergy were also dependent for their maintenance. The language of those trustees, as well as others throughout the Union, was generally the same as that held by Protestants, and their claims, not merely over the temporals of the local Church, but over some of its spirituals as well, differed in no respect from those held by Protestant laics. The Bishop's reply was mild yet firm in the maintenance of his prerogatives. Then Hogan had the effrontery to issue an address to the Catholic public in which he claimed to be a priest under the Canon Law, and maintaining, in face of the well-known facts to the contrary, that that law had been established in the United States. Hogan also had the presumption to call upon Archbishop Maréchal to ask him to convene a Council of Bishops in order to examine his case. Moreover, he issued a spurious pastoral which he attributed to Bishop Conwell, and which bristled with absurd statements and injunctions. This forgery was denounced by Archbishop Maréchal as "the most abominable pamphlet that ever disgraced the Church of God," and forbade him to claim him as his

Metropolitan. Then Hogan appealed to the Bishops of Boston and Charleston, only, however, to be again indignantly rebuked. But still the trustees of St. Mary's, and preëminently Mr. Matthew Carey, whose position of influence in the Catholic body seemed at this period to be unaccompanied by any sense of concurrent responsibility, stood by the refractory schismatic. Nothing, in fact, could be worse than the conduct of those contumacious trustees. Not only did they encourage Hogan in his rebellious usurpation, but they actually tried every means to drive the Bishop from St. Mary's Church. They attempted to effect their object by an appeal to the civil law, declaring that Bishop Conwell had no legal right to attend their meetings, he not being a citizen of the United States—as if a man newly arrived in the country could possibly enjoy such a privilege. They held public meetings in denunciation of the suspension of Hogan, and incited the public to riot and disorder. Had they been insane fanatics, bent on destroying Catholicity in the new nation, they could not have set about such an object more effectively. To the credit of Philadelphia Catholicity, be it said, however, that their fantastic conduct was not allowed to pass without serious protest from those of the saner and decenter mind. Bishop Conwell received an address from that section, while the curious conflict was at its height, signed by representative Catholics like Charles Johnson, John Carroll and Cornelius Tiers, in which his course in dealing with the firebrand Hogan was heartily endorsed on behalf of the genuine Catholics of the diocese.

To the last dread step of the Catholic Church in dealing with the contumacious Bishop Conwell was at length driven by the disobedience of Hogan and his insensate backers. Hogan had dared to say Mass in St. Mary's, while under suspension and while the lawfully appointed

priests were barred out from the church; he had likewise officiated at a funeral; in fact, he had inaugurated a schism. So, after a final warning to the wretched man, again disregarded, the outraged prelate, in full canonicals, pronounced from the altar of St. Augustine's the terrible form of final excommunication on Hogan and caused copies of the decree to be published in English throughout the diocese.

Gladly would the Catholic biographer and historian take leave of this most painful period of ecclesiastical history, or draw over it the veil of softening oblivion, were it not that the troubles thus sown broadcast soon yielded a baleful crop, not merely in Philadelphia, but outside, and their effects were felt down to the time when the subject of these memoirs appeared on the scene and wrought mischief quite as deadly as in the days of the persecuted Dr. Conwell. Unfortunately that gentle old man had not the same moral stamina as Dr. Kenrick, nor the same statesmanlike power of dealing with the fractious and recalcitrant. Totally unaccustomed to undutiful opposition, his nature recoiled from conflict with such coarse-minded and noisy self-seekers as Hogan, and the grief which such an exciting series of tumults and passages at arms caused him preyed hard upon his physical constitution no less than his mental and spiritual nature.

Even excommunication could not quell Hogan and his obstinate supporters. They got an errant Spanish Franciscan named Rico, as well as a pretended Spanish bishop, named Mier, to render the opinion that the excommunication was invalid, and that Hogan was justified in his reliance on the Canon Law and his defiance of Bishop Conwell's authority. Some of the trustees endeavored to involve the Catholics of outside dioceses in the schism with themselves, by denouncing the procedure of "certain

foreigners sent among them by the Junta or Commission directing the Fide Propaganda" *(sic)* in Rome, and claiming the right of Catholic citizens to appoint their own pastors and bishops. Those sent as bishops by this "Junta or Commission" the trustees denounced as "hostile to our institutions and a disgrace to our religion, importers of superstition and ignorance"—all save Bishop Carroll; and they claimed the right, "which always belonged to the Church," of electing their own bishops and clergy. The signatories to this curious manifesto evidently had it in view to elect laymen to pastoral office, and to secure the Pope's approbation for the men of their choice—a fact which vividly reflects the profound ignorance of those malcontents on the subject of Papal procedure and ecclesiastical law, as well as their unbounded arrogance of pretension. How far they had lapsed from Catholic faith, under the false guidance of the wretched Hogan, was to some extent shown in a Catechism issued by that schismatic about this time, in which the Church's teaching on Confession and indulgences was omitted altogether, and that regarding penance was modified so as to make it appear that contrition only was necessary for the remission of mortal sin.

Bishop Conwell was not altogether blameless in these melancholy transactions. He was too readily induced to remove the ban from Hogan when approached by Bishop England, upon whom the schismatic succeeded in making an impression when that great prelate came to Philadelphia, as he was on his way from Charleston to New York. The condition on which Bishop Conwell consented was that Hogan would leave Philadelphia. To this he agreed, but was soon induced by his old friends to return and join in the fray afresh. Again Bishop Conwell had to put him under the ban, and for several years Hogan was still a thorn in the distracted Bishop's side. The

trustees kept on appealing alternately to the people and the Legislature to sustain them in their wicked war, until at length the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII., by a Brief addressed to Archbishop Maréchal, his suffragans, all boards of trustees and the general body of the faithful condemned Hogan, declared all clerical acts done by him as sacrilegious, null and void; and declared the pretensions of trustees to appoint bishops and priests, and bestow the revenues of the churches on whomsoever they pleased to be preposterous, unknown in the Church, and an entire subversion of the relations which properly existed between pastors and people within the Church. To this decree Hogan appeared at last willing to bow, but the trustees still remained immovable. Hogan resigned, but they elected a worthy successor to his schismatic pulpit, in the person of the Rev. A. Inglesi, a priest of such evil repute that he had been expelled from Rome. After he had ministered for a little while at St. Mary's he was found unsuitable, and a friend of Hogan's, the Rev. Thaddeus O'Meally, an Irish priest, stepped into the schismatic vacancy. He, too, was excommunicated by Bishop Conwell, but subsequently went to Rome and expressed his regret for what he had done in the matter, and, on asking pardon of Bishop Conwell, was absolved and allowed to return to Ireland, where he lived for more than fifty years afterwards. He ended his days as chaplain to the Presentation Convent in Dublin, in the year 1877.[2]

Finding that they could not enlist the sympathies of outside Catholics to any appreciable extent, the dogged trustees of St. Mary's at last began to realize the position of isolation in which they had placed themselves, and so they were found again entering into communication with the Bishop about the middle of the year 1826. An agreement was at length drawn up in the October of that year, under whose terms the trustees agreed to recognize the

Bishop's right in the appointment of priests, they being allowed a voice in the selection by means of a representation on the board. Bishop Conwell good-naturedly agreed to drop his claims for salary for all the years of contention, and the question of future salary was left to the generosity of the trustees. How worthy they were of this confidence was proved by the fact that when they came to the agreement with Bishop Conwell they immediately entered in their minutes a protest which rendered it inoperative, and again repudiated the Bishop's authority. The quarrel soon flamed up anew, the matter was again referred to Rome, and the Sacred Congregation this time condemned both Bishop and trustees for entering into any such agreement. Undoubtedly Dr. Conwell was weak in conceding to the trustees any right whatever in the selection of the clergy, but when one considers his great age, the weariness of spirit that must have been his, and the relief that any reasonable hope of peace must have seemed at a period when every hour of calm a man can find is all too little for the preparation for the great inevitable change, it is easy to understand how he was induced to make the compromise.

The time seemed opportune for a prayer to be relieved from the burden of an onerous and thankless post, and so, after announcing to the congregation the decision of Rome the Bishop intimated his wish to retire, but to some extent his wish had been anticipated. The Rev. William Matthews, of St. Patrick's, Washington, D. C., had been appointed Vicar-General, and Bishop Conwell set out for Rome, at the desire of the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XII. He had been in charge of the diocese for eight years, but into those were compressed more pain, heartburning, toil, and anxiety than usually falls to the longest official lifetime. We may surmise how deeply these troubles had seared his mind when we find him again falling under

the temporary displeasure of the Pope by setting out for Philadelphia from Rome after he had been forbidden to return to it under penalty. But he quickly atoned for this unwonted aberration, and was partially restored to his episcopal faculties. These he continued to exercise for some years, after the appointment of Dr. Kenrick, until the loss of sight and all the hindrances of extreme old age completely forbade their discharge. His asylum in this strait was the house attached to the favorite and faithful Church of St. Joseph. This house and church had been his safeguard and palladium, so to speak, all through the long and bitter years of interparochial strife.

When driven forth from St. Mary's Cathedral by the unfilial trustees, Bishop Conwell was gladly welcomed to St. Joseph's. *There* there were no trustees to give trouble or scandal; the whole place was the property of the Jesuit order; and the Church of St. Joseph served him thenceforward as a pro-cathedral. But even here he was not permitted to remain in quiet. A villainous attempt was made to burn the little church on the following Christmas night. Such an act of diabolical wickedness at last aroused the better portion of the Catholic community to a full sense of the enormity of the steps taken in opposition to Bishop Conwell. It was also the indirect means of bringing about for St. Joseph's a beneficial result which otherwise might have been delayed for many years. A subscription list was started for its benefit, and in a short time amounted to a thousand dollars—a sum then so considerable that it enabled the Jesuit fathers to begin an addition to the structure right away; while the alacrity with which the money was subscribed afforded to the persecuted Bishop proof incontestable that the cantankerous factionists of St. Mary's by no means represented the true sentiments of Philadelphia Catholicism toward its spiritual shepherd.

CHAPTER IV.

OFF FOR PHILADELPHIA, THE CITY OF TURMOIL.

It was about the middle of June that the new Bishop, accompanied by the old one, Dr. Conwell, set out for the scene of his trials. They traveled by way of Pittsburg. The Catholic congregations at this centre, destined soon to be a vast hive of commerce and industry, had increased in ten years from a handful to about four thousand, and this largely by means of conversions—an encouraging omen for the new apostolic prelate. He had an earnest of the bright future opening before the city, in the rising pile of St. Paul's new church. In the older one of St. Patrick's he preached and gave confirmation, and afterwards visited the Convent of Poor Clares, where he gave the veil to two young postulants and also administered confirmation. And so he began his episcopal career under cheering auspices, but outside Philadelphia. Other kind of beginning awaited him there.

Leaving Pittsburg, the two prelates pushed on to Blairsville and Ebensburg, where they also beheld new churches rising up; and then sped on to Loretto. There they met with a fraternal welcome from the illustrious missionary Prince, Bishop Gallitzin, whose labors had rough-hewn the road for Catholicity, like another John the Baptist, in the wilds of the forest and the highland. Stopping on the road, at Huntingdon, Bishop Conwell, on the 4th of July, dedicated Holy Trinity Church there; and then, by way of Lewiston, where a new frame church was found ready for dedication, the prelates proceeded to Harrisburg. At the capital of the State they saw a new church erected by the exertions of Father Michael Cur-

ran, as well as a school, presided over by Sisters of Charity. The last halt on the road to Philadelphia, before arrival, was made at Lancaster, where the distinguished pair were warmly welcomed by the Rev. Bernard Keenan. Thence they proceeded toward the terminus of their journey, and reached the city of Philadelphia on the 7th day of July.

By some unexplained coincidence we are deprived of the light which might have been thrown upon the situation which first unfolded itself to the strange prelate's vision after he had received the first formalities of welcome and congratulation from his new clergy and flock. His Diary, which must have contained some entry on the matter, is *minus* its first leaf. It has been carefully excised—and so have portions of other leaves—in all likelihood by his own hand, and for some good and sufficient reason to himself. But we may easily surmise with what concern his mental eye surveyed the scene immediately before him. A town that had long been torn by civil war in its streets—a miniature Paris after the struggle of the Commune—presented itself in the moral field. Ruin was on every hand; the scars of strife were deep on the edifices left standing. From a flourishing diocese, wherein from colonial days, Catholicism had enjoyed the same freedom as every other religious denomination, it had been turned by schism into a place of spiritual bankruptcy and desolation. It had barely four churches, one orphan asylum, a few schools, and a remnant of disheartened Catholics for congregations. It had neither seminary, nor academy, nor college for the education of the priesthood, the religious sisterhoods, or the wealthier laity. The vital spark of its spiritual being was indeed all but fled. It is well to examine the salient facts of the situation when the new Bishop came upon the scene. The whole Catholic population of the city amounted to

only twenty-five thousand; and stagnation was the general characteristic. The state of religion throughout the remainder of the extensive diocese presented few features of encouragement. Not much church-building was attempted in those days. Missionary priests traveled through the country offering up the Holy Sacrifice, hearing confessions, and delivering sermons in the farmers' houses, a roomy barn being usually a great consideration in such casual visitations. Some of the farm steadings were regularly visited for this purpose, and the dates fixed in advance. Still the work of building churches was not altogether unthought of; pious and earnest Catholics, with aspirations toward a more fitting observance of holy things, were to be found, and wherever these were numerous there it was found possible to erect a church, of greater or lesser pretensions. In Wilmington the Catholics had, as far back as the year 1816, reared the fabric of St. Peter's pro-Cathedral. In the following year the Jesuits from Conewago built the Church of St. Ignatius at Mountain, in Adams county, in addition to their old one in Conewago. At Loretto, in the Alleghenies, Father Gallitzin had a log chapel; and in West Chester there was also a small chapel, which had, however, no resident pastor until ten years after Bishop Kenrick's accession. There were chapels in several other places, as Pigeon Hill, Westmoreland county. At Lancaster, Elizabethtown, Carlisle, Goshenhoppen, Lebanon, York, Ebensburg, and Chambersburg there were huts or chapels of some sort, with resident or visiting priests. In Pittsburg a substantial church had been begun; and Harrisburg had a handsome stone one. At Brownsville, Pottsville, Washington, Harman's Bottom, Freeport, Carbondale, Silver Lake, New Castle, and Butler there were chapels or temporary structures for Divine service at intervals. But the only parishes which en-

joyed the privilege of a resident pastor were those of Pittsburg, Conewago, Loretto, Manayunk, and Wilmington. The scattered Catholic population outside Philadelphia were computed at seventy-five thousand. In portions of the diocese were groups of people who had fallen away entirely from the faith of their Catholic ancestors—early French settlers, Alsatians also, and pure-blooded Germans who if not fallen away from religion had not seen a priest or been in touch with the Catholic communion outside for nigh a score of years. The number of priests over all this vast and widely scattered area was thirty-eight. It is difficult, in this period of improved communication and universal facility in travel, to form any just idea of the enormous difficulties which confronted the visiting bishop and the resident priest of those rude times, in the discharge of their responsible duties. The physical labor of the office was so arduous that none but those of the most robust frame could hope to get through it; the dangers of the road, particularly amid the mountainous regions, appalling, if not altogether insuperable at times. The soldier facing a campaign in an enemy's territory, the mariner contending with the wild elements in their career along the open sea, are called upon to confront dangers less grave in many respects than those which awaited the bishop and the priest in the early years of this century on the American continent; for campaigning and voyaging have intervals of repose and pleasant relaxation, while the task of the visiting ecclesiastic, either in the holding of Divine service, administering the sacraments, seeking out strayed members of the fold, and attending to the thousand things incidental to the building up of a diocese or a parish, goes on as incessantly as the tides.

The foregoing recapitulation is only intended to afford a general view of the conditions prevalent in the Philadel-

phia diocese when Bishop Kenrick assumed its pastoral charge; the history of local development all over the State would require a much more comprehensive survey and chronological analysis. It is essential that the reader who desires to trace the effects of the wave of immigration upon the spiritual condition of this continent take up particular biographies and the chronicles of the various religious orders whose branches have ramified here, for otherwise many things in the growth of different communities which seem only the natural results of economic laws and social conditions, in what may be likened to the glacial period in the rough-hewing of the American nation, would be seen to have their root in causes which often appear Providential in their character—trivial causes, apparently, in their beginnings, but working out in a truly marvelous method of germination, and by a process of inherent energy, toward a specific and appointed purpose and end. The basis for a theory of design, on the inductive method of philosophy, in the growth of the American Church, are indeed ample, superabundant even, when the patient investigator sits down to the examination of the whole case on the local evidence. Then it will be found that the very methods utilized in pre-Republic days to crush out the Church and de-Catholicize the people, in the American colonies and amongst the various European States, were the instrumentality by means of which the Church was enfranchised and enlarged in a totally unexpected direction, and a new life given it by the beauty of life seen in its great teachers here, its intrepid missionaries, its devoted communities of holy women ever ready to sacrifice themselves in the cause of humanity. This spectacle of the Church in its everyday life, in the full light of public observation, so different from the Church in the books which non-Catholics had been wont to read, has not been lost as an

object-lesson. It has made a profound impression upon the observant American people.

"The most enthusiastic admirer of Bishop Kenrick," remarked his panegyrist, the Bishop of Pittsburg, "will not pretend that the vast increase of Catholicity in the diocese was due to his labors. Irish landlordism and English misgovernment were the chief causes that dotted the hills and valleys of Pennsylvania, as of so many other States, with churches, and filled them with people. But it was the work of Bishop Kenrick to have prepared the mould in which the material of this growing Church was cast, and to have given it that shape that brings joy to every Catholic heart."

In weighing the import of this proposition of Bishop O'Connor's, we should take up the case of Philadelphia from the opposite side and inquire what would have been its probable fate had the choice of a Bishop, at such a crucial turning-point as had then been arrived at, not proved to have been a fortunate one. An unsympathetic, unmagnetic disposition must have proved in its possessor a disjunctive rather than a unifying force, amid a heterogeneous population composed of various nationalities. Throughout the diocese were scattered people of many races, and among these there was not a little racial antipathy—a formidable obstacle to the delicate work of spiritual assimilation. Had Bishop Kenrick been devoid of the subtle art of allaying such latent antipathies, the effect of his inability would have been precisely equivalent in inverse ratio to his success because of his possession of the gift. Had he not been endowed with the masterful spirit as well, the *fortiter in re*, in dealing with the St. Mary's recalcitrants, his *suaviter in modo* outside must have been offset in its gains to the Church by the losses within the city itself; for certainly a state of schism so formidable existed there, that the least indiscretion or

mistake in dealing with on his part must have widened into an irreparable and unbridgeable chasm. The city congregations had become familiarized with the language of Protestantism; the pretensions of that heresy to lay supremacy in the ecclesiastical domain were held, put forward, maintained, defended, and actually put into force, in the public view, as audaciously as in the days of Knox and the English conventicles. Had this rebellion been able to make head, by reason of the continuance of an enfeebled hand at the helm, the inevitable result must have been the disappearance of a large portion of the Catholic communion and an addition to the ranks of Protestantism in some such shape as the "Old Catholic" heresy. Therefore Bishop Kenrick was something more than a moulder of material and a planner of machinery of administration: he was also a centripetal force and a bond of union between elements powerfully swayed by disjunctive influences. If the prevention of defections from the Church be equivalent to the winning of accessions—if to save is to gain, according to the economical axiom—then his memory is entitled to higher honor still than that paid it by the eloquent prelate of Pittsburg. This much justice requires to have said concerning the view of the great churchman's claims from this particular point of view, owing to the limitations presented by Dr. O'Connor.

Philadelphia was not the only diocese in which the turbulent and intractable lay element had succeeded in causing turmoil and rousing angry passions where charity only should reign. New Orleans was placed in somewhat similar plight. Mobile, Richmond, Baltimore, Norfolk, and other places, had long been rent by schisms, quarrels, and inhibitions, the results of the froward and arrogant attitude of the lay pretenders toward the bishops and pastors placed in charge by lawful authority. But

in Philadelphia this turbulent element was especially formidable.

This was the element with which Dr. Kenrick was destined to deal; and its arrogance had been fostered and amplified by many grievous happenings in the Church itself. There was, in short, in the Philadelphia diocese, when he was chosen to go to its aid, a condition only fittingly described by one word—anarchy. There had been schism in the ranks of the clergy and there was still revolt in those of the trustees. Priests and people were up in arms against their Bishop, and even against the decrees of the Holy Father himself, to whom their controversies had been appealed. No situation so hopeless seeming had been presented for the solution of genius and patience, perhaps, since the days of the rival Popes. Young as he was, and though his was the youthful Hibernian temperament, Dr. Kenrick did not falter when he found that the voice of duty called him to the post of danger and honor. "God wills it," he said, and, like a Crusader knight he buckled on his armor and offered his blade to the service of heaven.

Who can forget the impression made by the sudden sight of the angry sea bursting in a far-extended line of foam along the coast, as one met the spectacle for the first time after a long journey through the stillness of a quiet rural region? Lying like some huge monster tossing in mortal agony, as far as the vision can follow, its struggles and its moans, together with the incessant lashing of its majestic mane, at once produce a sense of terror and an admiration that for the moment numb the power of speech. Some such feeling as this must have swept over the mind of the young Bishop as, at the terminus of his long journey, he came upon the scene of his new labors. Only a momentary calm had come upon the seething waters of discord and schism, and all the angry

passions begotten of these scourges still heaved and surged in the bosoms of the mutinous, ready to burst forth into renewed violence at the first break of authority and command. Formal courtesy was extended on his immediate arrival, on the part of clergy and laity, but as regarded the latter, and perhaps some of the former, too, it was only the courtesy of the duellist or the prize-fighter about to begin a mortal conflict. Hostilities were postponed until the Bishop had had time to take a survey of the state of his charge. His first official act, after taking formal control of the diocese, was a visit to Wilmington, to confirm the orphans whom the Sisters of Charity maintained there and bring those ladies, who were sorely straitened, what help and comfort he could impart in their devoted labors. Thence he went on to Pleasant Mills, in New Jersey, where he consecrated a new Catholic cemetery and the Church of the Assumption; and eighteen days after saw him at Reading, where he administered confirmation to a large number. Three days later he is found in Pottsville, where he deprived the pastor, the Rev. John Fitzpatrick, of clerical faculties, "quem publica fama arguebat reum simoniae cupiditatis," as the Bishop explains in his diary. This is the first instance we find recorded wherein he found it his duty to prove that sternness with evildoers was as strong a characteristic of the prelate as tenderness of the man. In the same month he gave holy orders to five candidates in the ancient church at Conewago, and also administered confirmation to a large number there. Speeding on to Columbia, he dedicated a new church erected by Father Keenan, and confirmed more there. Pushing on to Chambersburg, he was stricken down for the first time by a fever, brought on, no doubt, by the fatigue and hardship of travel in those days of primitive and rude conveyances and rough roadless ground; yet, being joined by the robust and

active Father John Hughes (afterwards Archbishop of New York), he rallied and resumed his devoted task with renewed ardor. He was not back in Philadelphia until near the middle of November—just in time to proclaim the Jubilee, which he did on the 14th of November, and immediately settled down to the practical work of making its spiritual advantages available to all the members of his flock that he could.

Hitherto there had been no note of war from the trustees; a perfect calm had prevailed; but it was a treacherous calm. These gentlemen seem to have been engaged taking the mental measurement of the man with whom they were now called upon to deal in the fiduciary capacity and weighing their chances of wearing him out as they did his predecessors. They were soon to discover how different was his mould, and how immovable was the calm strong will that underlay the kindly quiet face of Dr. Kenrick. During his absence on this preliminary visitation the trustees of St. Mary's Church, where he had intended to proclaim the jubilee, had taken an unwarranted step. They had called upon the trustees of the other churches to join with them in devising means to provide an income for the new Bishop. As Dr. Conwell was still Bishop, and so claimed the provision made for the incumbent previous to Dr. Egan's consecration, and as he also received the revenues derived from the new cemetery, of which he held the title, this interference of the trustees was incapable of any interpretation but a design to coerce and dictate in the old way, heedless of the consequences. Bishop Kenrick at once perceived the character of the move. He looked upon it as a gage of battle, and he lost no time in making a countermove. Announcing the full scope of his authority from the Holy See, he notified the trustees that, by virtue of the powers with which he was invested, he would assume

the pastoral charge of St. Mary's Church, and take the Rev. Jeremiah Kelly as his assistant. At once the trustees were up in arms. They had in old times asserted the claim of the congregation to choose their own pastors, and though this outrageous usurpation of episcopal authority had been solemnly condemned by the Holy See, they still were foolish enough to think it might have some chance of imposing on the new Bishop; at all events they would try. They asked him to reconsider his decision; his answer was a notification to the pewholders, by means of circular, to the effect that he would deem it his duty, under the law of the Council of Baltimore, to place the Church of St. Mary's under an interdict, unless the principle of church government by episcopal authority were unreservedly admitted and all opposition to his decision at once withdrawn. If the trustees imagined this was only a *brutum fulmen*, they were quickly undeceived. They put forward an equivocal reply, and Dr. Kenrick, disregarding their paltering, immediately published an official decree ordering the cessation of all religious services in St. Mary's Church and cemetery, unless the trustees at once signed a declaimer of their pretensions. Mulish obstinacy was shown by these pragmatical gentlemen. They flatly refused to recede. Then came the thunderbolt. In a pastoral the Bishop announced to the Catholic public the fact that the interdict of the Church was placed upon St. Mary's, and explained the reasons, plainly imperative, which compelled him to resort to this desperate means of asserting ecclesiastical authority.

What entries appear in the Bishop's Diary over this passage at arms are in the precise, laconic vein which mark all his notes on official transactions, and so we are left to surmise, as best we may, the complexion of his private sentiments on the exasperating doing of such

pretentious malcontents. Still we may conclude that he enjoyed to some extent the comicalities of the situation—for the incident of Father Lemke and the deputation shows that it was not destitute of a comic side—and that he felt himself the master in the struggle from the outset. Here is an entry on the subject which affords a glimpse of the spirit in which he met the mutineers. It is simply delicious in its fine *sangfroid:*

"April 12, Joseph Snyder, a delegate from the trustees' meeting, came to me by order of the Board to justify their action and to offer me 150 silver dollars. The following dialogue took place on the occasion:

"J. Snyder. Dr. Kenrick, I have been directed by an order of the Board, held on Friday evening last, to pay you 150 dollars.

"Dr. K. I can't take them, sir. You are no Board without me.

"J. Snyder. I regret that any disagreeable feeling should exist.

"Dr. K. Well, sir, I think it is better that our conversation close.

"J. Snyder. Good morning, sir.

"Dr. K. Good morning."

This was the beginning of a battle destined soon to assume a much sterner aspect. The Bishop, from the pulpit of St. Mary's, laid bare, before the congregation, the audacious pretensions and intrigues of the trustees, and secured the sympathy of most of his listeners. In their anger the trustees called a meeting of the pew-holders the next evening, but this recoiled on themselves, inasmuch as Dr. Kenrick attended uninvited and confounded the trustees so that they were compelled to swallow their own statements. They must not attempt to control him in the exercise of his pastoral authority, he told these rebellious gentlemen; he was their pastor

and their Bishop. The trustees were dumfounded. Their old arguments utterly failed them. They had depended on terrorism, and they found threats of disaster had no terrors for the fearless newcomer. Foiled in their hopes of intimidating the new pastor, the trustees fell back on the chance of winning over Dr. Conwell to their side. To this end they entered into correspondence with the aged prelate, and he weakly consented to meet them to discuss the situation. But the negotiations came to nothing, and, seeing no hope of effective resistance in any quarter, the trustees made a virtue of necessity and sent in notice of surrender. On the 28th of May Bishop Kenrick re-opened St. Mary's for Divine service, and so the memorable episode terminated for the time.

It is to Dr. Kenrick, undoubtedly, that the Church in the United States owes its emancipation from the strangulating system of trustee dictatorship. He was the Perseus who first conceived the true way of freeing the noble captive from chains forged by her own children. Others had essayed the task before him, but had failed for want of acumen and steadfastness of purpose; both these qualities were united in his character with that wisdom and perspicuity which instantly perceived the proper moment when conciliation, to secure victory, must take the place of demonstrated power. This happy combination of attributes is conspicuous in his own account of the circumstances of the surrender. The garrison desired some little concession in return for the laying down of arms, and he was wise enough to yield to a desire not altogether unreasonable from a human point of view. His memorandum on the subject shows how, even though still battling with intermittent fever, he maintained all his firmness and clearness of mental vision.

In his letter to the congregation of St. Mary's announcing the removal of the interdict, the Bishop ex-

plained the reasons why he conceded anything to the trustees. It was the provision of the Baltimore Council regarding the appointment of pastors which influenced him. This declares that these be made "So as to meet not only the wants but the wishes of the people, so far as the conscientious convictions of the prelates and the just desires and expectations of meritorious clergymen will permit." Although he regarded portions of the trustees' communication as "highly objectionable," the Bishop, considering that they by that instrument explicitly disclaimed all right of interference in pastoral appointments and removals, felt himself unable to withhold any longer from the congregation the consolation of worshiping in their church.

To terminate forever the danger of a recrudescence of such trouble, Bishop Kenrick took steps to change the system of investment of property left to the Church. His first proceeding was to qualify himself for the position of devisee. This is the explanation of the entry recorded in the Diary under date 29th June, 1831: "Civis Americanus factus sum Philadelphiæ." All bequests were now to be vested in the Bishop; the existing ones, vested in the trustees, he left undisturbed so long as these respected the episcopal authority. These arrangements he caused to be duly promulgated in Philadelphia and its vicinity; in distant parts of his diocese he was yet to have some trouble ere he could get them likewise established there. The only really formidable difficulty he was destined to encounter in the establishment of this salutary rule throughout was at Pittsburg. There we find him in December of the same year confronting and defeating a fresh trustee combination in regard to the renovated St. Paul's Church. In this case the combination appeared still more formidable than its counterpart in Philadelphia, inasmuch as it had the support and sympathy of

the Catholic people at large. The times were crude, and crude notions on the law of right and wrong prevailed among the half-educated people who formed the backbone of the Catholic laity of that day. On his arrival in the city to preside at the opening of the church for Divine service, the Bishop found that a body of trustees had been appointed and that they had taken steps to obtain a charter. Instantly he put a veto on the proceedings. The trustee system had already wrought mischief enough, he told the congregation; he would have no more of it; the church must be conveyed to him, in trust, or not opened at all. The sense of proprietorship at once took offense. When the Bishop announced his resolve, it was received sullenly but silently, because it was the voice of authority, which permits no rejoinder, which spoke. But outside the episcopal presence the news was discussed with heat and obstinate recalcitrancy.

CHAPTER V.

BEGINNING OF EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS—PERILS AND HARDSHIPS OF EARLY TRAVEL—FOUNDATION OF THE SEMINARY OF ST. CHARLES.

One remarkable fact in relation to those exciting days is the total absence of any note of complaint or repining on the Bishop's part. Not a murmur of complaint wells up from his Diary: everything is set down as if it were an impersonal matter of business in which a third party, and not himself, was the principal actor. The hardships of travel, even, are hardly alluded to in the memoranda. Yet these were sometimes as formidable, in their own way, as any encountered by Xenophon's Ten Thousand as told in the "Anabasis." Hassard's Life of Archbishop Hughes cites some interesting examples of their inconveniences. In one case the author tells how when Bishop Kenrick and Dr. Hughes were scrambling over the rugged track called a road from Loretto to Newry, the baggage, which contained the episcopal insignia in mitre and crozier, had been jolted out of the wagon unperceived by the travelers or driver. When the loss was discovered the Bishop seemed inclined to let it go rather than put any one to the trouble of going back to seek the property. But the sturdier Dr. Hughes was not so easily reconciled to the situation. He would set out himself in search of it, and in due time he returned triumphantly with the exploring party, and assisted, as he himself jocularly put it, in restoring his mitre to Bishop Kenrick. The latter appears to have availed himself of the stage coach wherever possible, for we find him jotting down how he traveled from one place to another "in

curru publico," but most of his traveling appears to have been over paths innocent of any general conveyance. An interesting note in this connection is the entry regarding his departure from Pittsburg for Brownsville, the date being December 24, 1831. "Navicula vaporis viae procedente" is what he wrote—the first mention of a steamboat we find in the chronicle. Another entry notes that the Bishop rode one day twenty miles through the forest to the town of Morrinsville, having for guide one "Duo. Keating, qui ibi diversorium et mercium officinam tenet." Another day we find him quitting Newry in the midst of a violent rain-storm: "imbribus continuis lugubri." It is little wonder that he said, when speaking of his scattered diocese: "Some of these missions need the gift of tongues and a health of iron." People of many nationalities made up the sparse congregations, and the missionaries who visited them were equally diverse. At the outset the Bishop enumerated four French priests, three Germans, two Belgians, twenty-one Irish, one Livonian, one Russian, one Englishman and three Americans. This number he found entirely inadequate to the needs of his vast diocese; hence one of his first thoughts was how to provide an ecclesiastical seminary wherein young men might be trained, under his own eye, for the polyglot work of his Babel-like pastorate. At the very beginning of his ministry we find him imbued with this idea and laying down its embodiment in embryo. He had, through the ungenerous action of St. Mary's trustees, been excluded from his proper episcopal residence and been compelled to rent a house for himself. The building was on Fifth street, and though he knew not whence the funds were to come to maintain it, trusting solely in God, he began to put his idea into shape there. The upper portion of this house he immediately devoted to his purpose, taking in a couple of theological students

by way of a beginning. Then he assembled his few clergy and to their utter amazement unfolded his scheme to begin the provision of a Diocesan Seminary, asking their advice as to the best means of sustaining such an institution. Their recommendation was practical, like most American plans; but it did not happen to coincide with the Bishop's views of the propriety of the case. They wished him to divide his Seminary into two portions—a paying branch for day scholars, and a free one for the theological students, making the one maintain the other. This was the plan usually followed all through the country at that period. But it was not in accordance with the recommendations of the Church or the decrees of the Council of Trent. These require that the Bishops establish seminaries for the special training of young men to the sacred ministry apart from other students; and this direction was the rule on which Bishop Kenrick determined to act, even against the advice of those who thought they best knew the likelihoods of the case and the dispositions of those on whom the Bishop must rely for the sustentation of his scheme.

Placing his trust in the beneficent Giver of all things, he unhesitatingly began his wonderful work. Taking the sublime St. Charles Borromeo for its patron, the Bishop began a building which excited the astonishment and even the carping criticism of some of the class whom he styled "Little Catholics," who think that the meaner and barer and smaller are the things pertaining to the Church of God the more they are in accordance with the tenets of Christianity. A mere glance at the origin and growth of this now famous shrine of learning would be a poor tribute to the conception of its founder. Its genesis is, in its way, a microcosm of the wonderful genesis of the Church itself, not only as it has developed here on this continent, but as it had grown like the great out-

spreading Tree of Life from the original tiny mustard-seed. When one looks back at the initiation of the edifice, in the attic of the modest house in South Fifth street, in the city of Philadelphia, with four or five students, it seems like a reproduction, in the heart of the Quaker City, of that memorable undertaking begun three hundred years previously in the little chapel of St. Geneviève at Montmartre by St. Ignatius and his little votive band. And yet it differs from that wonderful enterprise in one important way. Bishop Kenrick began it *alone*, and against the advice of those who should have supported him. In this fact and in the amazing success of his solitary endeavor may we not plainly see the fostering hand of the great Guide in whom the unflinching prelate trusted when he set out upon that dubious way?

Two years later the Bishop found it necessary, owing to the growth of his student class, to have more than once what the Scotch call "a flitting." He first removed from his quarters in Fifth street (No. 92, now No. 316) to the northwestern corner of Fifth and Prune (now Locust) street; in a short time he shifted again to a house two doors from St. Mary's Church, and later on to the building immediately adjoining the sacred edifice. In the year 1835 we find him receiving welcome aid in the carrying out of his darling project from no less a person than the brother who was destined under God to play a part hardly less distinguished than his own in the rearing of the national Church. The first reference to his arrival in the United States that the chronicler finds is contained in the Diary under date September 30, 1835, at the end of an entry telling of the arrival of a Mexican Bishop in Philadelphia: "Frater meus qui itineris comes fuit, sub Vesperum de Ecclesiæ Unitate concionatus est." Subsequently we find this entry:

"Novembris 28 die (1837) profectus est Pittsburgam

frater meus, Ecclesiæ S. Pauli suscepturus curam, et Vicarii Generalis Munia obiturus ante octo quippe dies, Revmus. Dr. Heyden, Epus, Natchez designatus inde discessit, de suscipiendo Episcopatu initurus consilium Decembris 3 die adm. Rdm. Dm. Barron, Vicarium Generalem et pastorem Eccl. S. Maria, enuntiari."

In 1835, then, we find Bishop Kenrick placing the Seminary under the care of this distinguished ecclesiastic his brother, the Very Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick. For two years he guided its studies, and by the end of that time the original five students had increased to double that number. In 1837, on the consecration of the Vicar-General as Coadjutor Bishop of St. Louis, the Very Rev. Edward Barron, D. D., of Cork, Ireland, was appointed Rector of the Seminary. For three years this holy priest labored diligently at the work of training the young Levites there, when he left it to take charge of the vast diocese of Liberia, in Africa, in company of the Rev. John Kelly, of New York. Hitherto the Seminary had struggled on with such help as the Philadelphia diocese could afford; now it began to receive some outside recognition. Through the influence of the Rev. Frederic Resé, afterward Bishop of Detroit, it procured a generous grant from the Leopoldine Association of Austria, together with some smaller sums from similar bodies in France. At the end of its sixth year of existence Bishop Kenrick found himself able to deposit the sum of two thousand dollars in the hands of the treasurer, and to apply to the Legislature of Pennsylvania for a charter of incorporation, which was granted. Under this instrument it assumed the title of "The Philadelphia Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo." A board of trustees was given the superintendence of the institution, the Bishop of the diocese being the president, and the president of the Seminary and the professors of theology

and the Sacred Scriptures, together with five laymen, forming this board. A number of burses were established, and other provisions made for the purpose of securing scholars and sustenance. The site of the Seminary, which was originally the Bishop's residence, was changed to Schuylkill and Sassafras streets (now Eighteenth and Race), and the first appeal made for its support met with so generous a response that the Bishop declared he could not find words adequate to the expression of his gratitude. This was in September, 1838; and in January of the following year the students, ten in number, took up their quarters in the new home, under the direction of the Very Rev. Michael O'Connor, D. D., the former Rector, the Very Rev. Edward Barron, D. D., having to retire in consequence of his appointment to the pastoral charge of St. Mary's. In the year 1841 the Seminary was placed in charge of the Lazarist Fathers, under the Rectorship of the Very Rev. Mariano Maller, and the average number of Seminarians under his *régime* was thirty. He was succeeded in 1847 by the Very Rev. John Tornatore, C. M., but the latter held the post for barely a year. Then came the Very Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M., who held the place for four years, when he was appointed Bishop of Los Angeles and Monterey. To him succeeded Dr. Amat, a Spanish theologian who had been superior of the Lazarist Theological Seminary, then located in St. Louis. He held the office of Rector for the four years from 1848 to 1852, when he was chosen to fill the See of Monterey. During his term the Seminary was enlarged to twice its former size on the Race street front. Father Tornatore, on his retirement, again assumed the direction of the Seminary. Between this eminent theologian and Bishop Kenrick the deepest friendship existed, for it was under Father Tornatore that Dr. Kenrick studied theology in Rome, and teacher and

pupil were attached by the ties of mutual tenderness and respect. The friendship thus early begun was lifelong. In 1853 Father Tornatore was, on the call of his superiors, transferred to St. Mary's Seminary, Barrens, Mo., and the next Rector of the Seminary was the appointee of the new Bishop of the diocese, the sainted Dr. Neumann, who, on the transference of Bishop Kenrick to the archiepiscopal see of Baltimore, had been summoned to the pastoral charge of the Philadelphia diocese. The Very Rev. Dr. O'Hara, a teacher of singular eminence, was the one chosen for the new epoch which Bishop Neumann was destined to inaugurate, in the widening sphere of the Seminary's usefulness. This epoch began in the year 1859, when the noble estate at Glen Riddle, formerly known as the Aston Ridge Female Academy, was purchased and prepared for the work of a Preparatory Seminary under the able direction of the eminent Dr. Jeremiah Shanahan, afterwards Bishop of Harrisburg. For nine years this zealous divine managed the affairs of the new Seminary with remarkable success, so that its membership had considerably increased and its vitality been permanently assured. Meantime under the assiduous care of the Very Rev. Dr. O'Hara, the original Seminary had flourished *pari passu* with the new auxiliary. On his retirement, to fill the post of Vicar-General, he was succeeded by the Very Rev. Maurice Walsh, LL. D., who administered the office until 1864, when he laid it down in order to assume the pastorate of St. Michael's Church. His successor at the teaching source was Dr. James O'Connor, who subsequently became Bishop of Omaha.

In the year 1865, under the Rectorship of Dr. O'Connor, came the crowning transformation in the Seminary's life of evolution. Bishop Wood, who had succeeded the venerable Bishop Neumann in the see, determined on a step of the greatest moment. Perceiving the rate of

growth of the diocese and the disparity between its spiritual needs and the means of implementing them, he took the bold course of purchasing the magnificent tract of land at Overbrook where St. Charles' noble pile at present stands. It was an audacious move, but amply justified by the event. The price of the site was thirty thousand dollars, and in a spirited pastoral issued at the Christmas of 1865, the Bishop appealed to the Catholics of Philadelphia and the State to support him in his movement for the elevation of the intellectual life and the physical strength of the students, the better to prepare them for the arduous life of the American mission; and the appeal was liberally responded to. On the 4th of April in the following year, the Bishop had the joy of laying the corner-stone of that structure which is still recognized as the most majestic of all Catholic cœnaculi. He was assisted by a hundred priests, and sustained by the presence of a crowd of the most distinguished laity. So vast was the undertaking of rearing the structure in proportions suitable for the purpose intended, that it was not until the year 1871 that it was ready for the reception of students. In the September of that year 128 of these entered into possession of their new and splendid home, and the Preparatory Seminary at Glen Riddle passed out of existence. From that date forward to the present the Catholics of the diocese seem to take a pride in supporting the glorious school of priests on a scale commensurate with the sublime purpose in view. Their annual contributions toward it have ranged between thirty and forty thousand dollars, not quite touching the higher figure, and seldom going below the smaller.

The Rectors of the Seminary from the period of its entrance on a larger life have been successively the Very Rev. James O'Connor, D. D., the Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D. D., the Very Rev. William Kieran, D. D.,

the Very Rev. John E. Fitzmaurice, D. D., and the Very Rev. James Garvey, D. D. There is a steady tendency toward increase in the number of students. Its library is of more than respectable dimensions, and will in time, doubtless, occupy all the shelves arranged for a forty thousand volume collection. The eminent Irish canonist, Cardinal Cullen, was one of the first contributors to it; the Propaganda, the Bishop of Strasburg, Archbishop Hughes, of New York; Father Foulhouze, the Swiss Association of the Faith, Mr. Mark A. Frenaye, the Right Rev. Edward Barron, the Right Rev. Mgr. Corcoran, the Right Rev. I. F. Horstmann, and many priests of the diocese have been generous contributors to the literary treasure.

It is not pertinent to the purpose of this work to pass in review all the personages and events that have made up the life and work of St. Charles' Seminary since the great founder's dream became a reality. It is enough to say that no dream of noble ambition ever resolved itself into concrete fact with more impressive demonstration of the link between the noble resolve and the splendid possibility. St. Charles' Seminary is a speaking proof of the irresistible force of an idea conceived for the advancement of God's glory and the power of patient steadfastness in the safe lines laid down by the Fathers of the Tridentine Council as the surest means of checking the disintegrating process at work within the Church. It has never ceased to provide a pure and learned priesthood, fitted in all respects to carry on the stream of sacerdotal ministration and maintain the sacred fire unquenchable, the new bond between man and heaven.

Were there no other tie between Archbishop Kenrick and the Philadelphia diocese, the founding of this great educational institution would have formed a memorial sufficient for the most exacting mind. The vastness of

the conception, the generosity of its scope, the symmetry of its lines of study, and the multiplicity of its aims and achievements give it a unique place in ecclesiastical training schools. While the need of educating men in all languages used here has been its leading impulse, the obliteration of all national lines in the special work of the Church has been its cardinal principle, as it was in the mind and action of its broad-minded founder. While steadfast in his love for his native country, he recognized no particular nationality above any other in the discharge of his sacred duties. As all men are alike to Christ, and all brothers, so were they to Bishop Kenrick. This has been the way with the great majority of those illustrious sons of the Church who hailed from the Emerald Isle, and who were so largely instrumental in the rearing of the great fabric of American Catholicity. But their conspicuous virtue in this regard was frequently ineffective to shield them from the jealousy and the grudge of native Catholics, even of the more educated sort, as readers of Brownson's works and letters may perceive. The bitter anti-Irish spirit which prevailed in the early years of the past century was not to be placated by the most saintly living or the most inoffensive behavior, and it was to be Bishop Kenrick's lot to encounter it, later on, in its most frightful form, no less than to subdue it forever, in his diocese, by such sublime renunciation as brought one back in mind to early Apostolic times. How and where we may not here pause to recall; in its proper place the episode will be chronicled as it deserves.

Yet Bishop Kenrick's claims upon the loving remembrance of Philadelphia are not confined to the service rendered the Catholic body in the erection of the Seminary and the quelling of revolt within the Church. On all classes of citizens he conferred the most distinguished services by his action in regard to the terrible visitation

of cholera, which occurred shortly after his arrival in the diocese. On the appearance of the dreaded visitor the Bishop issued a pastoral letter in which he enjoined his flock to have recourse to prayer and penance in order to avert the chastisements of God, and to prepare, by means of the sacraments, for the danger of death. The laws of abstinence were at the same time relaxed, as a temporary measure, inasmuch as fish, fruit and vegetables were considered to be forms of diet provocative of a visitation. The services of Sisters of Charity he placed at the disposal of the city authorities as nurses for the stricken, and the heroic manner in which these ladies discharged the dangerous and disgusting duty elicited from the Mayor and public bodies the highest meed of praise, formally expressed. So too with the Catholic clergy of the city. They were incessant in their ministrations among the sick and moribund. The parochial residence of St. Augustine's was given by its occupant, the Rev. Michael Hurley, to the city authorities, for the time, to be used as an hospital. The Bishop was no less assiduous in his succor of the stricken than his devoted clergy at this terrible crisis; and herein the aptness of his choice in seeking a patron for the Seminary in St. Charles is seen in the coincidence of the plague coming to test the love of both prelates for their Divine Master. Both consoled with the sacraments of religion the blackened victims of the pestilence, and fearlessly ministered beside the fetid pallets from which even the bravest physicians shrank sometimes in terror of a visitation which they could neither diagnose nor combat. And it is the task of the impartial chronicler to observe that while the Catholic clergy and Sisterhoods thus offered themselves at the altar of Christian duty, the clergy of the other denominations afforded a startling contrast. They fled from the pest-stricken city with that impulse of self-

preservation which is by this caste regarded, as a general rule, as the law of Christianity as well as the law of nature. Beholding so striking a difference in action between these clerics and those of the ancient Church, it is little wonder that the citizens of Philadelphia were filled with amazement no less than gratitude. When the epidemic had passed away they would fain give expression to their feelings by rich offers of substantial rewards. They proffered the Sisters a service of plate, but the tribute was instantly declined; the Sisters of Charity wanted no earthly reward for doing their Master's work. The plague raged virulently during the months of August and September, and then suddenly abated—to return, however, in a short time to claim further victims.

Under date of December 30, 1831, we find the subjoined entry regarding the obsequies of Stephen Girard, which may prove useful in the settlement of some disputed points:

"The body of Stephen Girard was brought with much funeral pomp, attended by many Freemasons, in scarfs and ornaments, marching in procession, as a tribute of respect to their deceased companion, to the Church of the Holy Trinity. When, therefore, I saw these enter the church, to have funeral rites gone through, no priest assisting, I ordered the body to be taken away for burial. I allowed it to have Christian burial, for the potent reason that the deceased was baptized in the Church and never left it, and when death came his illness was such that he did not perceive its approach."

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY—THE "DARK AGES OF THE UNITED STATES."

The America of to-day presents no reflection of the America of seventy years ago, so far as religious and social characteristics reflect the state of a nation's tendencies. While morals or ethical principles seem to have degenerated in our day, religious tolerance has certainly made a great advance, softening the asperities of diverse races and leavening the heterogenous mass with the spirit of fraternity, if not of true Gospel charity. This tolerance had never been a characteristic of the Colonies, save in the Catholic settlements, until the common danger aroused thoughtful men, in the Revolutionary era, to the necessity of adopting it as a principle of action for the attainment of national success. Penal enactments were then either repealed or suffered to lapse into desuetude, the voice of the bigot was awed into silence, and the tribute of admiration was extorted from men hitherto the most intolerant of the view that Catholic and loyal soldier were compatible conditions, when the bravery of Catholic soldiers displayed itself before all men's eyes in defense of the newborn Republic. But, the day of danger past, the temporarily submerged tendencies began again to appear on the surface. Jealousy and fear were aroused at the spectacle of a continual inflow of Catholics at the principal ports and their diffusion and settlement in regions whose sparse population had been either Protestant or nothing at all but still anti-Catholic. Whatever little literature permeated the rude and primitive social state was mostly saturated with

the deadly virus of theological hate, and here and there the slumbering demon of religious bigotry was summoned from his lair by the loud vilipend of some wandering propagandist, hissing hackneyed slanders against a majestic figure of which their peddler minds were incapable of conceiving or measuring. Such roving ranters we have with us still, but they are never capable of exciting the widespread passion that followed their advent, in the early communities, at a period when ignorance was dense and the purity of Catholic life, as seen amongst all communities here to-day, was a spectacle undreamed of and impossible of conception. In our own day, even with the enormous spread of learning and literature, we find it a task often too onerous to refute the force of calumny about Catholic influence, especially with regard to distant countries which have been visited by the note-taker determined to transform the stock of gall with which he sets out on his travels into a stream of gold on his return, by pandering to the vulgar prejudices of the ignorant and the evil-disposed, either for the purposes of the politician or the pulpit demagogue. In justice it ought to be owned that hostility toward the Catholic system was, in many minds, the outcome of a mistaken patriotism combined with a defective state of knowledge of the Divine institution. Ignorance and self-sufficiency were more prevalent in those days than in the present; and men believed then to a greater degree than they do now that the American mind knows enough for all practical purposes, and that practical purposes are the chief ones to be kept in view all through life's journey. The one great maxim sought to be implanted in the mind, with the strength of inseparability, was the proposition that Catholicity and Republicanism were forces and principles as antagonistic as the angels of light and of Eblis. Catholicism was regarded as the cult of debasement and

intellectual inferiority; the Catholic must be, by habit and extrinsic force, a slave; and the proper sentiments for a free superior race to entertain toward such a creed and its professors were loathing for the one and scornful pity or contempt for the other. Besides the peripatetic preachers, flingers of firebrands amongst combustible elements, there were then, as now, many among the regular Protestant ministry of the various sects who played upon the vanity and the passions of their countrymen with a skill quite as effectual as the less refined art of the itinerant declaimer in perpetuating the animosity of the disciples of freedom against an institution known only to them by repute, and by the condition of the poorest portion of Europe's surplus population cast adrift upon these shores, or flung chained and helpless on them by Cromwell's men-of-war. What sort of an Augean stable of falsehood and malice men like Dr. Kenrick, Dr. England and Dr. Hughes had to take off their coats to cannot easily be conceived by the present generation. The poison was scattered broadcast; its fruit sprang up with all the prolific exuberance of the ragweed. One favorable condition existed and one only—for those who as a forlorn hope went forth to assault the seemingly impregnable fortress of Giant Prejudice. In their calm hours the minds of the better classes in the United States were characterized by an exceeding rectitude and fairness, and that cool level-headedness which has been no less conspicuous a trait, at all times inclined them to judge of matters of intellect and conscience in an impartial light. They knew nothing of the Catholic faith save what had been falsely presented to their view; and when men like Bishop England and Father Kenrick essayed to present it in Kentucky and other places they found a people quite willing to hear them, and quite prepared to be convinced as well. Remembrance of the loyalty

of the Catholic population to the national cause, in the hour of danger and distress, was also a contributary factor. For many years it had been dinned into the ears of this high-spirited people that Catholics were traitors, not to be trusted by any who sought freedom; that they were conspirators against organized government; that they were taught it was lawful to assassinate rulers who opposed the claims of the Pope; that they had tried to blow up the Houses of Parliament in London; that they had, after failing in this, set fire to the city and burned half of it to the ground; and committed many other enormities. When, therefore, the tocsin of war brought forward men like Charles Carroll and his relative the great Archbishop, and many another prosperous Catholic, to aid in the national defense, men saw for the first time the Catholic as he was, rather than what he had been pictured to their fancy, and the scales dropped from their eyes in great measure. Masters of controversy like Bishop England, Bishop Spalding and Bishop Kenrick, then, had little difficulty in silencing opponents who came forward with old calumnies and false imputations in doctrine. While teaching at Bardstown Dr. Kenrick had had considerable experience in this line. The circumstances in Philadelphia were different, and there were so many troubles within the Church to demand attention that the new Bishop deemed it undesirable to encourage fresh ones by engaging in polemical struggles with outsiders. We find him disapproving of the argument entered upon by the Rev. John Hughes, his former secretary, with the Rev. John Breckenridge, an eminent Presbyterian theologian and preacher. Still, this controversy, by its results, seems to have proved that the reluctance of the Bishop was ill-grounded, inasmuch as Mr. Breckenridge was obliged to withdraw from the discussion before the body of it—namely, the question, "Is the

Protestant religion the religion of Christ?"—had been reached; and those who have read the published report of the proceedings will recognize in their course a striking resemblance to that which was developed a year or two ago in the passage between the Rev. Dr. Lambert, of New York, and a temerarious but elusive Presbyterian divine. The greatest possible difficulty, in all such cases, is to have a clear statement of what their exact proposition is from such ambitious champions; so after many hopeless attempts to bring them to the point, both Father Hughes and Father Lambert were left in possession of the field. The discussion in Philadelphia, which lasted from January until October, 1833, was the immediate cause of starting the able weekly paper, *The Catholic Herald;* and this in itself was no small advantage to the Church. The attention of thousands of Protestants was fastened on the arguments of Father Hughes, as it was the first time they had found the principles of our holy religion set forth by a master hand and presented with a convincing power against which no evasion could stand.

Undeterred, however, by the fiasco, the Presbyterian Synod of Columbia, in the same State, shortly afterwards went out of its way to make a bitter attack on the Catholic Church. Quite as ignominious was the result in this new attempt. Prince-priest Gallitzin emerged from his mountain retreat to pick up the gauntlet flung down by the zealots. He published in the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* a series of articles entitled "Six Letters of Advice" which completely demolished the case of the Synodmen and left them no heart to make rejoinder. Notwithstanding such successes, there is a growing dislike, since that day, for such methods of presenting the truths of the Catholic faith, since they have a tendency to enkindle partisan acrimony in the breasts of the more

excitable and ignorant onlookers. The course most approved by charity and experience is the opening of missions *in partibus infidelium* by able and winning sons of the Church, and inviting non-Catholics to come and listen to the exposition of her true doctrine and her historical claims.

To Bishop David is attributed the initiation of this method, and the idea was taken up later on by Dr. Spalding and put into practice with remarkable success at Lexington in Kentucky. The fact that it was successful in drawing to the Church thirty converts during the first year it was tried aroused such exasperation among the different Protestant sects that these banded together and formed an association which they styled the Protestant League, each member of which bound himself to lecture in turn, interchanging pulpits for the purpose, on the iniquities of Popery and the reign of Antichrist. As in the Cromwellian epoch it was believed in England that Irishmen were tailed anthropoids merely, so in New England and many other parts of the United States, owing to the zealous inoculation of the anti-Catholic preachers, those who owned allegiance to the Pope, the Man of Sin, were credited with the possession of horns and cloven feet. The few Catholics scattered over the country here and there were practically defenseless in presence of their calumniators, who had had the field all to themselves for many years. Destitute of education, destitute of priests, not half-instructed in the very principles of the religion they professed, totally unacquainted with history, even American history, how could they be expected to rise up and confute even the silliest calumnies of those who had been nurtured on D'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation" and Foxe's "Book of Martyrs?" Hence the first imperative duty of the time, as it occurred to Bishop England,

Bishop Kenrick, and Bishop Spalding was the establishment of a Catholic literature—a weekly press as a beginning. Without such a machinery there was no possibility of presenting the claims of the Church to the people of the United States at large; and the widespread experience of Bishop England among Protestant people of all classes had convinced him that their prejudices arose from a misconception of Catholics and their doctrines, and faults of the head and not of the heart. Hence, in starting the *Catholic Miscellany* in Charleston, he addressed himself to the task of indicating the spirit in which he believed the removal of such prejudices should be approached by the Catholic journalist—*i. e.*, "the simple explanation and temperate maintenance of the doctrines of the Church," so that "sensible persons would be astonished at finding they had imputed to Catholics doctrines which the Catholic Church had formally condemned, and imagined they were contradicting Catholics when they held Catholic doctrines themselves." The bolder tone assumed by Bishop Spalding in launching the *Catholic Advocate* a few years subsequently is explained by the increasing virulence of the anti-Catholic propaganda on finding that the long-despised votaries of "Rome" were no longer without a voice nor destitute of able defenders. The ring of combat sounded through the salutatory of the *Advocate* from the first sentence to the end. American-born hands held the pen; the spirit of American independence fired the pregnant sentences.

In founding the *Catholic Herald* in Philadelphia the Rev. John Hughes had only a reluctant support from Bishop Kenrick, so far as its controversial purpose was concerned, and the tone of the paper was pitched in a much less defiant key—temperate yet firm and unfaltering in statement of intentions, as will be seen from the opening "apology:"

"It is much to be regretted that the spirit of forbearance and Christian charity is not more generally cherished and encouraged in this land of civil and religious liberty. There are in this city alone several periodicals published by our dissenting brethren of various denominations, to advocate and defend their peculiar views of doctrine and church government, as adopted by the sect or party to which the editors respectively belong. If these sectarian publications had been content with maintaining the system of doctrine which they have severally embraced, we would have continued, as heretofore, silent spectators of their controversies. . . . But when we observe in several of those religious journals false statements of fact reflecting upon our religion, and doctrines ascribed to us which our Church condemns—when we know that our silence is assumed as an admission of the truth of these charges, and that thereby uncharitable feelings are created and prejudices confirmed, we deem it expedient to establish a regular periodical journal, through which we may be enabled from time to time to lay before the public temperate vindications of our doctrines, according as the unprovoked attacks of our adversaries may appear to us worthy of notice."

There was an afflatus of curiosity breathing over the land, and it was destined soon to spread all over the English-speaking world as well. It was the same breeze whose susurrus was soon after found stirring the leaves of thought in the Oxford groves until they rustled forth in the momentous Tractarian movement. What vast issues sprang out of the seemingly tiny beginnings of the passage between two English Protestant divines—the Rev. Henry Newman and the Rev. Charles Kingsley! The impulse of that breeze has not yet spent itself, nor may spend itself until it has witnessed the foundering of the Anglican bark or at least its cessation as a State-sup-

ported Church. The controversy, beginning in an obscure American town, has now assumed the dimensions of a world-wide battle, carried on from London to London's antipodes, week by week in a thousand magazines and newspapers and in a thousand pulpits. Its results have been marvellous. England's and America's best intellects have bowed before the claims of that Church which half a century ago was being reviled by the low preacher and torn by the mob. *Now* the value of the press as an auxiliary to the pulpit is fully understood, and there is not a Catholic Bishop anywhere who does not commend it to his flock as the only efficacious antidote for the poison of the prurient novel and the demoralizing literature of the divorce court, the prize-ring, and the racing-track.

Of the deep importance of the Catholic press Bishop Kenrick was fully sensible. From the first we find him utilizing the columns of the *Catholic Herald* for the exposition of the true principles of Catholicity. Thus he was enabled to enlarge his audience and reach people who could not or would not attend his church, and thus helped on that development of inquiry which subsequently resulted in the triumph of the Church's magnetism over many erstwhile antagonists of her truth.

The duty of organizing the scattered members of his diocese into congregations, and providing these with priests, was onerous beyond all present experience, save in the remote regions of the great Northwest. It was, in truth, the labor of a giant; yet Bishop Kenrick never failed to face it, year after year, all the time he held the pastoral staff of Philadelphia. In his Diary we find the record of eighteen visitations, from the time of his arrival until he took leave of the diocese in 1851. He usually devoted from three to four months each year to this great pastoral duty—and these the hottest months, as a rule.

He began his journeys toward the end of May or June, and brought them to a close about September. At first he took the round of the older and more settled spots; but after three or four years spent in completing the organization of these, he began to search out the more remote and sparsely populated places wherein the few Catholics, living widely apart, had not, in a great number of cases, beheld the face of a priest for years, of a Bishop mayhap never. We gain a vivid idea of the savage solitudes wherein the nascent Church had its early roots in the States of Pennsylvania and New York from the lively Reminiscences of Sister M. Teresa White, of the Visitandines, Binghamton, Pa. She recalls the days when Father Dubuisson, S. J., started out for a three months' mission in the wilderness of Susquehanna. "The snow was so deep," she says (writing in the American Catholic Historical Society's Records), "that a horse could not be allowed to break the way for the priest's sleigh, as there would be danger of the animal breaking its legs; so my father and brothers walked before the sleigh and broke the road for the horse and his precious burden. In those days how valued was the visit of the priest, and also how rare; and how well understood that he was the Lord's Anointed, not to be criticized by every idle tongue as is now, alas, the custom! On one occasion they found that a priest from Philadelphia would come for a brief visit if his expenses could be paid. Dr. Robert Rose, the proprietor of these immense lands, had offered a sum of money to any one who would clear a certain amount of forest. My oldest brother, afterwards Judge White, of New York, started out, axe in hand, and worked day after day felling trees until he earned the priest's expenses. I see now the little wooden chapel embowered in forest trees; and recall how one time two little brothers and one little sister of mine were benighted four miles

from home and hurried through the forest, scarcely daring to breathe, the brothers holding the little sister between them, and now and then the howl of a wolf in the distance.

"I have heard of the time when Binghamton had but *one* Catholic; and for years after we moved there, no priest, no church—the nearest New York State priest being in Utica, ninety miles by *stage* from B. On one occasion the almost solitary Catholic was ill unto death. Great anxiety was felt, as for years she had not had the opportunity of the sacraments. Imagine the joy when Father Bacon (I think it was) appeared at our door, having been sent by a Sister of Charity in Utica."

These were the days of extraordinary delusions no less than unreasoning dislikes. In especial were the minds of old residents in country places saturated with suspicions and fears of the "wild Irish," as terrifying, often, as those of the early English of the Pale. The Irish were the "bogie-men" of the day—the formidable strangers the terror of whose very name was enough to hush fractious infants into silence and slumber, like the Huns of old. In the venerable Sister's narrative we find how deep was this feeling in spots where the Irishman was known only by his terrible reputation:

"At this time there were no Irish in Binghamton to speak of, but soon it was bruited about that Irish laborers were coming to construct a canal. It was quite laughable to hear announced with awe, 'The Irish are coming.' One day a young lady, breathless from fright, rushed into our house. 'Why, Stella, what *is* the matter?' said my sister to her. 'Oh, Miss Ann, I met an Irishman!' A kind Episcopalian lent us a vacant house for prayers on Sunday, when the few Catholics met. After many years we built, aided by Protestants, a small chapel, but we had no priest. My father used to read the prayers and say, as I presume, a number of Paters and Aves. One

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Sunday, he being absent, a good man took his place and prayed the Lord to send us a priest 'as soon as it was possibly *convanient*.'

"Of course, there was plenty of bigotry, or rather ignorance, without malice, for no kinder people could be found than the Binghamtonians of that day. An exception there was here and there—for instance, one morning, to our indignation, was seen a large grocery sign nailed high on the church. On another occasion Dr. Wainwright was coming to B., and we tried to get the Court House for him to preach, but an old law was hunted up to prevent it. We therefore used our orchard for a church, and our porch for a pulpit. Dr. Wainwright said, in allusion to this refusal, 'A free stage and no favor' was all he wanted. Senator Dickinson, some days after, at a Fourth of July dinner, gave as a toast, 'A free stage and no favor.'"

The next passage shows that Bishop Kenrick did not restrict his care of souls to the bare confines of his own diocese, but responded to the cry for spiritual help from any near place. It also throws light on the stronger pastoral methods of an earlier day:

"Archbishop Kenrick, of holy memory, took pity on the situation and allowed one of his priests to cross the line and give us Mass and the sacraments at long intervals. Oh, the faith of the people! Miles and miles were *walked* by women, fasting, to get to the Mass, and Mass was not said until nearly twelve o'clock, as time was brief, and so many had to go to confession. Their spirit would put some of the modern Catholics to shame. Before we had any church the baptisms, marriages, etc., took place at our house. I do not know whether it was in Susquehanna or Broome, but I have always heard that Mr. and Mrs. Shanahan were married at our house, and as time went on my aunt, Mary Ann Griffin, the

sister of Gerald" (the Irish poet and novelist) "stood godmother for their son, little dreaming that the babe she held in her arms was to be the future Bishop of Harrisburg. The priests in that district of country were strong temperance men, and woe to the man who sold liquor without a license, *or with one*, for the matter of that! These good priests did not fear to come out at the altar and scold the delinquents well when any disorder had occurred. In these progressive times they would scarcely be able to do as they did then—viz., walk into the shanty where this curse was sold, pull out the bung of the whisky barrel, and let it meander where it would. One day Father Fitzsimmons, long since dead, entered the shanty of a woman who was a veritable virago. *He* seized the *bung*, *she* seized his *collar* and shook him vigorously while he, nothing daunted, pulled out the bung and let the poison run where it chose. After a time we grew so American that the priest ran the risk of being sued for defamation if he named people at the altar for misdemeanors. The saintly Father J. Vincent O'Reilly was master of the situation; he no longer admonished, but at the time of notifications he would call on the people to say one Pater and one Ave for Patrick Daley, who sold liquor at such a place. Oh, the dread they had of being *prayed for!* But they were helpless, and other priests took it up until they dreaded this being prayed for; but who could sue a priest for a charitable prayer? Before this artful dodge of Father O'Reilly's, I remember hearing of Father Fitzsimmons holding forth about some disorder, and his oration was interluded with '*and Tim the boy was there.*' Tim the boy was a noted drunkard. Father O'Reilly was a saint, and was called by Archbishop Kenrick his rough diamond. He did not pose as a polished priest, but his life was spent in hard labor traveling on horseback through the *seven* counties in

his charge. His life was spent in the service of souls, and he died in an act of charity—viz., when, in trying to rescue some one on the Erie Railroad, he was himself crushed to death beneath the cars."

Visitations with Bishop Kenrick, as it has been shown, were by no means the sort of outings known as "royal progresses." They were times of toil and painful travel, and incessant labor in the Master's vineyard. He "let no grass grow under his feet," as the pointed adage says of the active man, but pushed from one halting place to another as quickly as he could after the object of his visit had been accomplished. Everything he did during the day was carefully put down in his Diary, in neat and legible Latin. It is helpful to the reader to translate a specimen record of these annual pilgrimages of duty. Taking one at random, here is a good illustration, under the heading "Decima Visitatio:"

"1839, June 12, set out accompanied by Rev. William Loughran, joined near Lancaster by Rev. Dr. Bernard Keenan.

"June 13, at Elizabeth, in St. Mary's Church, confirmed 21 persons.

"June 16, in the town of Harrisburg, at the Church of St. Patrick, confirmed 28 persons. Rev. Patrick Rafferty was present.

"June 18, confirmed 14 persons in the Church of St. Peter, in the town of Carlisle.

"June 20, at Chambersburg, in Christ Church, confirmed 3 persons. Here a residence was built lately, for the use of the pastor, but there has been no pastor since the Rev. Dr. Loughran left the place on account of troubles with the sacristans.

"When the road from Philadelphia to Chambersburg, thirteen hours on the railway, had been covered, still there remained about forty hours' journey to be completed. On

the 21st, three hours before noon, set out in a coach, and arrived at Youngstown at three o'clock in the morning of next day. A doctor named McGirr received me very kindly, and Father Waterson, after looking after my baggage, brought me to the Church of St. Vincent de Paul.

"June 24, which was the fifth Sunday after Pentecost, I confirmed 94 persons in the same church, Rev. John O'Reilly delivering a sermon. The Rev. Michael Gallagher, pastor, chanted the Mass. The following day, accompanied by Rev. Father J. O'Reilly, went to Pittsburg and went off with Rev. Father Joseph Prost, superior of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, who had charge of the German Catholics in that city.

"For the reason that Sister Frances Vinderoghel, of the Order of St. Clare, had been wandering about for several months, and had already prepared to sell the house or convent near Allegheny Town, I have sent her the following communication. (The letter is in French):

" 'To Sister Frances Vinderoghel, religious of the Order of St. Clare:

" 'By virtue of our power, ordinary and extraordinary, as delegated by the Holy Apostolic See, we command you, by virtue of holy obedience, to come before us, next Monday, the 1st of July, at ten o'clock in the morning, at the house actually occupied by the Order of St. Clare, near the town of Allegheny, to show your reasons, and to hear our judgment and decision upon matters which concern you, and which are submitted to our jurisdiction.

" 'Given at Pittsburg, the 29th of June, feast of the Holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, in the year 1839.

" 'FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,

" 'Bishop of Arath, and Coad. Bishop of Philadelphia, with power of administration.' "

CHAPTER VII.

An Era of Activity—Bishop Kenrick's Foresight—New Churches.

In countries of settled Catholic populations, the duties of a Bishop are such as to leave him free to cultivate the spiritual virtues in his priests and in his flock, and to deal with administrative problems of his diocese as they arise. But in a *terra nova* like the United States, in those early days, they were far more complex. The ground was there; the churches and the congregations were things *in posse*. Nearly every Bishop had to play the part of a magician in conjuring these up where vacuity only had existed. None was more active in this creative work, as it may be designated, than Bishop Kenrick—the St. Patrick of Pennsylvania, one may style him. His activity was incessant; his success wonderful. Prior to the beginning of any new church he had taken steps, as he had found it, by bitter experience, necessary, to eliminate the vicious trustee principle forever. This plan he began to put in operation in the city of Philadelphia. Resolving to shake himself free once for all from the pragmatic trustees of St. Mary's, he began to cast about for a site for a pro-Cathedral which should serve its sacred purpose until such day as one really worthy of a great city might rear its crest to heaven. To the Rev. John Hughes, his energetic secretary, he confided his ambition and the task of realizing it. There happened to be a piece of ground quite sufficient for the purpose on South Thirteenth street. Father Hughes secured it, and had plans prepared for the church by Mr. William Rodrigue. Then the Bishop called a meeting of Cath-

olics, to lay before them his plans for a new church, a free school, and a girls' refuge. The president at this meeting was the celebrated Matthew Carey, and the substantial result was such that on the 31st of May, 1831, the Bishop had the pleasure of laying the corner-stone of the new edifice, and in the April of the following year it was solemnly dedicated by the venerable Bishop Conwell, under the invocation of St. John the Evangelist, as the Cathedral or pro-Cathedral of the Philadelphia diocese. This it continued to be until the completion of the stately pile which now serves the purpose on Logan Square. St. John's, however, continued its functions as a parish church after the passing of its Cathedral dignity. It was partly destroyed by fire in 1900, but it has risen from its embers, in its original form, externally, but a thing of beauty as regards its interior, such as any city might feel proud to possess, emblematic in its white vesture and chaste carving, and the richness of its noble stained glass windows, of the purity and glory of the faith which has raised it.

Much as we may deplore the spirit which animated the lay Catholicity of those days, as exemplified in the attitude of trustees toward Bishops and priests, when we recall the consequences which flowed from their tyranny, we find compensation for much of the scandal, the grief, and the heartburning which it brought to the Church, its prelates, and its flocks. It was the refining fire which tempered and strengthened the instrument by which it was at last to be smitten down and utterly routed and blotted out of existence. The gentle nature of Bishop Kenrick—calm in times of quiet as the sleeping Mediterranean on a summer day—might never have been wakened to a consciousness of its innate strength were it not for the fractious behavior of the crotchetty trustees whom he encountered on his entrance into his diocese.

It opened his eyes to the inherent weakness of the existing ecclesiastical system, and soon his fertile mind was busy with the problem of providing an antidote for the evil and a safeguard against its recurrence. We have seen how this problem was solved in the erection of the Philadelphia pro-Cathedral and in the surrender at Pittsburg; and the victories there achieved were felt as victories for the whole Church in the United States—for Philadelphia was by no means the only place wherein the pretensions of the laity to rule the Church had been insolently and persistently put forward and asserted. His mental vision swept far beyond the bounds of the immediate field of struggle; he looked into the future, and his fancy beheld the vast possibilities which lay within the grasp of the Church in the proximate years. Though he was a splendid dreamer, his dreams were the outcome of a keen observation and practical spirit. From what he had beheld, in his journey through portions of his diocese, he felt assured of the coming greatness of Pennsylvania and its chief city. If it was a land almost literally flowing with milk and honey, it was not less one dowered by nature with those subterranean riches, in minerals and metals, which have ever made the nations which were so fortunate as to possess them, with knowledge of their uses, strong in character and great in achievement, whether in the fields of industry or those of war. The development of such resources was in his period only beginning, but he foresaw that the infant of to-day must be the colossus of to-morrow. Every stroke of the hammer on the anvil, every blow of the pick on the rock, he knew to be the sound that would summon a fresh worker from some far-off field, attracted by the hope of transmuting into gold the metal wrung from the clutch of tenacious Nature. Viewing the living tide that was soon to begin its flow toward the shores

of Pennsylvania, his fancy, fired with apostolic zeal, pictured the wants of such a population—pastors to minister to their spiritual needs and guard the gates of morals, schools to train their children, orphanages and hospitals to minister to their bereaved and disabled. Ardent as was his fancy, his constructive faculty was no less masterful. The greater the need of the hour, the more apparent grew the responsive power of his innate resources. His ardor was not the less contagious from the fact that it was of the quiet and resolute order, rather than the emotional; and few who heard him plead for an object on which he had set his heart, for the accomplishment of God's work and the redemption of imperilled souls, could long resist the charm of his pleading and the magnetism of his kindly presence. Thus it was that he so quickly succeeded in rearing his darling Seminary, the cherished ideal of his earliest day-dreams, once he had scanned the condition of his diocese and got a fore-glimpse of its mighty destiny and its imperative needs.

He began by putting his house in order, in a very practical and systematic way. In accordance with the acts of the Council of Baltimore, he issued a notification for a diocesan synod to assemble, in the May of 1832. Thirty priests attended; nine others were absent, on account of illness or extreme age, or some other reasonable cause. In the enactments adopted at this gathering was laid the groundwork of the system of reorganization and discipline which was destined to obviate in the future such disasters and storms as had nearly shattered the bark of the Church previous to the new pilot's advent. Beginning with the ratification and adoption of the Baltimore decrees, they laid down the emphatic rule that no new church was to be begun, nor no old one enlarged, without the sanction of the Bishop of the diocese; and

in every such case that the title must be vested in the Bishop, as trustee for the congregation. Any priest who encouraged trustees to infringe on episcopal authority was rendered liable to the penalty of suspension. The ancient law of the Church that no money was to be either asked or received for the sacraments was revived; although it was conceded that offerings might be accepted for marriages and baptisms, but only for these. Pending the adoption of a universal Catechism, with Papal approbation, the use of the Baltimore one was advised. The Bishop's imprimatur was made a necessary condition for works intended for Catholic circulation. Priests were forbidden to officiate out of their own parishes, or leave these without the Bishop's sanction. Regulations for the conveyance of the Blessed Sacrament to the sick were drawn up. It was also enacted that Midnight Mass at Christmas must be discontinued, because of the danger attendant on the practice. Furthermore, the Bishop's consent was made a necessary condition for the entrance of any religious community of women into the diocese. The result of these salutary enactments soon became apparent in the orderly discipline of the diocese and the elevation of its ecclesiastical *morale*.

At the time of the synod the Catholic population of the whole diocese was estimated by the Bishop at one hundred thousand, ministered to by 38 priests, 29 seculars, with members of the Jesuit, the Augustinian, and the Franciscan orders to help. These had to attend to fifty churches and many stations. Many of these priests were incapacitated by reason of age and infirmity. The army of the Church was suffering from the vicissitudes of war, aggravated by the evils of internecine conflict. It required the brain and the will of a strong captain to mould it into a puissant force. Sufficient allowance is not made in these "piping times of peace" for what the

men in the days of initiative faced and achieved. We have had our Carnots, organizers of victory, in the Church. There are no War Office chronicles to tell of what they dreamed and dared in the mapping out of the empire of God. Nor were they rash adventurers, either. Every forward step taken had an assured footing before the foot was planted. Human means were not neglected, while Divine coöperation was humbly relied on.

The first necessity—the immediate necessity—of the diocese, as soon as the new Bishop had made himself conversant with its real condition in spiritual matters, was an addition to its clerical force. More priests were urgently needed; more churches for the outspreading Catholic population. To meet this double need Bishop Kenrick at once set himself to work. The first step in this direction was a practical one. To the original founders of old St. Joseph's, the Jesuits, he restored that charge. In 1833 the Rev. Fathers Kenney, Dubuisson, and Ryder responded to his call. The Rev. Father Donaghue, who moved out on their arrival, began the erection of a new church, St. Michael's, on the north side, and this was dedicated in September of the next year. Simultaneously the new impulse was felt in the more distant parts of the diocese. At Newry, at Youngstown, at Tamaqua, at Johnstown, and at several other points, new churches began to spring up, about the same period. St. Paul's, at Pittsburg, was completed. Next year Bishop Kenrick started out on a tour of church building and pastoral duty, and he bent his steps in the direction of Columbia, where Father B. Keenan, of Lancaster, had just erected a new church. At Bridgewater, in Western Pennsylvania, in the following year, he helped in the erection of another modest temple and gathering a few scattered families as a congregation. If he could not find churches and congregations he always set to work to

gather the nuclei of some. In 1835 he is found going from end to end of the State of Delaware, after giving confirmation in Wilmington and New Castle, in search of scattered Catholic families, in order to get them into touch with the nearest congregational unit. Several German Catholic families, who for eighteen years had been left derelict, so far as spiritual help went, in Lycoming, in Western Pennsylvania, he traced to their burrows and brought back to the fold. The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith sorrowfully tell how he was not so successful in tracking the lost sheep of the early French settlers of Towanda, none of whose descendants retained any tradition of the faith of their devout forebears.

At the close of this visitation it became evident to the wearied Bishop that his physical powers, great as they were, as well as his mental activities, were far short of the needs of the ever-increasing duties. His diocese, stretching across Delaware and into New Jersey, and sweeping far south into the Allegheny region, presented the dimensions of a kingdom; and every day was adding to its population, its pastoral necessities, and its official cares. The responsibilities, he reluctantly concluded, were already far beyond his strength; and what they must be in a few years more he hardly dared to contemplate. A division of the diocese was inevitable, he foresaw; and the sooner it was accomplished the better for all interested. Acting on this conviction, he forwarded a statement to the College of Propaganda, suggesting the erection of a new see, with Pittsburg for its centre. He held himself ready to assume the organization of the new diocese, and with that view recommended that the Rev. John Hughes be appointed Administrator of the Philadelphia diocese in his stead. To this prayer or recommendation the Council of Propaganda yielded, but the consent of the Pope had yet to be secured. For reasons

not disclosed in the biographies, Bishop England, of the Charleston diocese, interposed with canonical objections to the proposed arrangement, and these prevailed with His Holiness. So for nine years more the devoted Philadelphia prelate was obliged to face the ever-increasing "sea of troubles" attendant on a condition of things parallels for which can only be sought in those passages of European or African history when hordes of Scythians or Goths were overturning the boundaries of Church and State and making deserts where industrious communities had long flourished in peaceful security.

We search in vain throughout the Diary of this truly Christian prelate for one murmur of dissatisfaction or impatience, one sigh of weariness under the heavy load that he now found pressing so sorely on his shoulders. His Divine Master carrying His cross must have been the example constantly present to his mind's eye. Even as Christ murmured not, though the load bore Him down fainting to the earth, so would His servant give no querulous sign or make complaint of the burden he was bearing for the sake of God.

Sometimes he happened to meet his brother, Father Peter Richard, as he went the cycle of his visitations, and these reunions, we may be sure, were joyful compensations for the pain of exile, at least in some degree. Thus we find him noting, under date September 30, 1835, that he was accompanied from Reading, on his return journey to Philadelphia, by "frater meus," who preached in the evening on the "Unity of the Church." Under date November 28, 1837, we find him recording how "frater meus" had set out for Pittsburg, from the Quaker City, to assume the duty of Vicar-General in the Church of St. Paul, in the former city. This was the beginning of another career not less illustrious in the American episcopacy, and intimately bound up, for many years, with the

spiritual life of the elder brother—binary stars, by their double relationship, in the ecclesiastical firmament, identical in mind and spirit, and yet apart in thought in many things as well as place.

It was not until the year 1837 that Bishop Kenrick learned that his petition to the Propaganda had been adversely decided on. He had sent out a circular asking his clergy and people to join in supplication to God that the approaching Provincial Council would be guided by the Holy Spirit in providing for the needs of the Church; and when the Council met the Metropolitan and his suffragans showed a unanimous willingness to have Bishop Kenrick's desire for a division of the Philadelphia diocese carried into effect. But Bishop England, who arrived after this conclusion had been arrived at, seems to have been influential in altering the mind of the venerable assembly, for no petition in regard to a see at Pittsburg was amongst those which were forwarded from the Council to the Holy Father.

After the decision was made known, with the patience of a Fénélon the overburdened Bishop resumed his work of building up the outlying portions of his diocese and laying down lines for its spiritual extension as an organized power. As a result of his visitations new churches sprang into existence at Bridgewater, at Meadville, at Norristown, at Waynesborough, at Doe Run, at Erie, and at Pottsville. In Philadelphia two important events date from about this period—namely, the enlargement and renovation of old St. Joseph's Church, and the opening of the new Church of St. Francis Xavier, at Spring Garden and Fairmount. Bishop Kenrick being absent when the renovation of St. Joseph's was about to begin, the corner-stone was blessed by the Rev. James Ryder, in presence of the venerable Bishop Conwell, on the 4th of June, 1838. On the 10th of June, in the following year, the

foundation stone of St. Francis Xavier's was laid with full ecclesiastical pomp, in presence of nearly all the clergy and the Seminarians, and a vast multitude of people. The Rev. Edward Barron, Vicar-General, and the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, president of the Seminary, are mentioned as assisting Bishop Kenrick at the sacred function, which, taken altogether, appears to have been one that gave him unusual satisfaction, since he winds up his note of it with the observation, "Cecinerunt sacerdotes psalmos, magna cum œdificatione, resque tota feliciter cessit." Alas for the glory of the days departed! Now the sacred edifice, that was regarded as the glory of the locality and a thing of beauty in architecture, when its doors were first thrown open for Divine worship, is no more. Its foundations were loosened by the tread of our heavy civilization. The cutting of a railway tunnel close by made the building unsafe, and so it became necessary to raise another St. Francis Xavier's. The new church stands not far off—in many respects a basilica as compared with the old.

The fourth Provincial Council was held in Baltimore in the year 1840, and here Bishop Kenrick pleaded again for a partition of his diocese and relief from a burden which had, though borne in patience, become well-nigh insupportable. Although the Bishops acceded to his rational request, the same influences which had before thwarted their action were again in the ascendant, and no recommendation on the subject was forwarded to Rome. What made this disappointment the more keen was the loss to the Church of the wonderful missionary, the Russian prince-priest, Rev. Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin. He had died in the heart of his mission-hermitage, Loretto, in the previous year. Father Gallitzin was the second priest consecrated in the United States by the illustrious Bishop Carroll, and his most holy life, working

out God's plan in the midst of a savage wilderness, had been the means of winning innumerable souls as well as making straight the paths of those who were to follow him in the same sublime commission.

No one was more impressed with the truly apostolic spirit of the Russian anchorite than Bishop Kenrick. He had seen him in his Alpine eyrie, ministering, in lowly humility, with all the zeal of a St. Louis, to the wants of the poverty-stricken denizens of the mountain sheelings, his princely dignity cast aside, his military and aristocratic privileges all forgotten—nothing remembered save the humility and the sacrifice of the greatest Prince the world had ever known. Only a short time before his death had the Bishop gone to visit the saintly recluse, as we find from his Diary. Journeying both by railway and on horseback, "ad verticem montium Allegheny," as he phrases it; and he notes with evident appreciation the chief facts of the hermit's life—how his father, a Russian noble, had been an ambassador to Holland, and his mother, Amelia, Countess Schmettau; how he was born at The Hague in the year 1770, and two years later was brought to America, that he might observe the ways and manners of the New World as he grew up; how he early entered St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore; how he renounced his princely rank and estates, to become a true soldier of the Cross. The dates of his various steps toward holy orders are carefully recorded; likewise that of his first Mass, celebrated on the feast of St. Joseph in the year 1795. For forty-three years this prince-priest had been laboring among the mountaineers of the Alleghenies when Bishop Kenrick last visited him; and the care taken in setting down these particulars would suggest the idea that he wished to use them afterwards for some biographical purpose. There was so striking a parallel in many ways between John

the Baptist and the noble Muscovite hermit, that it would not be surprising if the Bishop conceived the idea that it ought to furnish a theme for a great moralist, and that only those who had had personal knowledge of the frightful hardships of life in the savage and inhospitable caves and precipices of the primeval desert could convey a just impression of the sacrifice made by this devoted son of the North. With him, or at least close to him, the Bishop found our old friend, the fiery Teuton, Father Peter Lemke, on the occasion of this memorable visit, which began on the 17th of July, 1838, and terminated on the 25th of the same month. In the interval the Bishop confirmed many persons—187 in one place, 70 in another; again 26, and again 17. He was assisted in the holy ceremonies by Father Gallitzin, Father Lemke, Father William Loughran, and Father Terence McGirr. Descending from the mountains at last he came to Johnstown, where he found with sorrow and indignation, as we gather from his notes, that a church, St. John Gualberti's, only erected three years previously, had just been sold "sub hasta"—that is by public roup, on account of money owed to the architect.

This progress through the Alleghenies must have been a thing to be remembered. Every kind of conveyance that could be availed of was gladly welcomed. Sometimes we find the Bishop mounting a wagon (plaustrum), and going to the house of some old Irishman whose patronym had sought disguise under an apparently foreign dress—Karlan, for instance; *(Hibernicè* Carolan), and being driven by a wagoner *(auriga)* with a more ostentatious evidence of nativity—Morgan Sweeney, to wit. We can readily imagine how much he must have enjoyed these rough mountain rides in the magnificent air of the Alleghenies, with a lad full of Irish wit guiding the rough steeds over the dizzy and rib-shaking tracks. Some-

times he is fortunate enough to have a four-wheeler (rheda) awaiting him; again it is in curru publico (stage-coach) he implements his journey. A cymba (skiff) is the frail bark he trusts to at times over the rapids or the turgid floods; sometimes he is fortunate enough to catch a steamboat (navicula vaporis). Rough rides through the virgin forest for many miles we often find him taking, with some hardy Irishman for guide; often he modestly sets down that he made his destination on foot. The fierce rays of the midsummer sun beat down upon his head; frequently the irresistible tropical storm came with a deluge as he toiled wearily along, and, we may be sure, drenched him through and through. Not a word of repining at these hardships comes from him; they are jotted down in the Diary, as part of the day's record, with the most business-like indifference. "Delayed at such and such a place by a heavy storm" is the usual sort of entry whenever the elements are found obstructing his progress.

From another day's record we glean that the Bishop set forth from a place called Harlan's Bottom, in company of James Adams, a devout and upright man ("vir probus et pius"), with whom he had been staying, who drove him over a rough mountain road for three miles, to the road which leads from Bedford to Wheeling, and after four miles more in diverse ways reached the place where the Rev. Father Stillinger lived and there he passed the night. The stage-coach having gone past while they slept, we find him trudging fifteen miles on foot next day to the town of Somerset, and driving thence fifty miles to Williamsport; all this toil and travel being endured in order to visit a few scattered Catholic families. The Diary abounds in itineraries of the same patient toilsome kind, and in all cases where the Bishop was the host of humble Catholic farmers or mountaineers he is

careful to chronicle their names and bear testimony to their hospitality and piety.

But there were things looming in the near future more to be dreaded than the rough road, the mountain storm, the swollen torrent, or the bewildering maze of the pristine forest. A storm was coming that was destined to try all Catholic souls. Its mutterings were audible already, but it must be a little while yet ere it break in all its accumulating fury. Meantime the Bishop goes on his way, battling bravely with a weight far beyond his strength. At this time the Catholic population of the Philadelphia diocese was estimated at 120,000, and the number of churches scattered over the wide region was seventy. The ten years of his spiritual sway had induced a blessed change in the disposition of the flock. No longer were there any encroachments on the domain of ecclesiastical right. A spirit of piety and respect had taken the place of meddlesomeness and jealousy. The people were generous, too, according to their means. Still a heavy load of debt, on account of the new Seminary and the various churches, weighed upon his mind; and were it not for the liberal help he got from abroad, from the Leopoldine Association, and from other sources, his troubles on this score must have been grievous trials.

With all these cares we find Bishop Kenrick so full of energy as to convince us that the more herculean grew his task the more undaunted grew his spirit and the more perfect his reliance upon the Divine aid. During the visitation of the year 1840, in which he was accompanied by Rev. Father O'Connor, he is found performing wonders of work in pastoral duty. After stopping at Lancaster, Elizabethtown, Harrisburg, Lewistown, and Bellefonte, he delayed at the French settlement of Clearfield in order to aid the poor congregation to complete a church they had there commenced. Thence he went on

to Red Bank and Mancolini, and subsequently to Erie, where the Catholics had been unable to do more as yet than hire a hall for worship. Here also he nerved the congregation in their effort to remove the reproach of want of a church. His route was then extended so as to embrace Mercer and Beaver, and Pittsburg; then, after a considerable delay, on to Blairsville, Johnstown, and Loretto; and then homeward by Harrisburg again, by Reading, Masillon, and Goshenhoppen. The stay at Pittsburg appears to have been the only one attended by real anxiety in all the circuit. Here fresh troubles had been brewing for a considerable time, owing to the increase of the German population and the fact that these had no church of their own wherein to worship. They had been using St. Patrick's Church, but their growing numbers compelled them to look around for other spiritual accommodations; so, finding a factory building that seemed suitable, they hired it for the purpose of a temporary chapel. Here, although left to themselves, they were unable to refrain from bickerings. Several priests successively endeavored to restore harmony among these troublesome immigrants. The last of the series, Father Nicholas Ballcis, a Benedictine, had abandoned the task as hopeless, shortly before Bishop Kenrick's arrival, and for some time the warring factions had been left without any spiritual director, as a punishment for their un-Christian strife. When the Bishop came and saw the state of affairs, his heart was touched with pity for the misguided wranglers in their miserable plight, and hearing that the Redemptorists were willing to undertake a mission, he sent for Father Prost, the superior, and invited him to begin. This was in the year 1839. Father Prost began his work well. He assembled his flock and adjured them to make St. Philomena, their countrywoman, virgin and martyr, their patroness, implore her

prayers for the restoration of peace, and dedicate their factory-chapel to her honor. Their prayers were heard; strife was stopped, and the first blessed result of its cessation was the provision of enough money to purchase the factory out and out and transform it into a church and a convent, both named after St. Philomena. The Redemptorists took charge of both; and this was the first house of their community in the Union. Wonderful were the results which grew from that beginning, seemingly so doubtful, having regard to the bitterness out of which it grew. It was not long after until, in that same convent sprung from a workshop, the Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann began his novitiate and donned the habit of the congregation, to become in time Bishop of Philadelphia and earn a place among those whom the Church venerates as of saintly rank. The settlement of this dispute at Pittsburg was one of the happiest, if one of the most difficult, achievements of Bishop Kenrick's many visitations.

CHAPTER VIII.

Beginnings of the Cyclone of Bigotry—The Bible in the Schools.

It was the habit in those days to have portions of the Bible read in the public schools, and Catholic children must perforce listen to the exercises. The version used being the Protestant one, the practice was felt as a grievous injustice by the shepherds of the Catholic fold, amounting to an infringement of the law and the Federal Constitution. Hymns and prayers were also used in the schools that were objectionable, and besides these grievances gross misstatements about the Catholic religion were embodied in the historical text-books and in the literature of the public libraries. Against these wrongs Bishop Kenrick at last felt it incumbent on him, as guardian of his flock, to issue a public remonstrance. Therefore we find him, in the winter of 1842, addressing a letter of remonstrance to the Controllers of the Public Schools in Philadelphia, temperately stating the grounds of objection which the Catholics of the city entertained to the existing regulations in the schools. It was then a provision of the State law on education that "the religious predilections of the parents of pupils shall be respected," and this excellent rule, Bishop Kenrick pointed out, was being ignored and violated in the practice of the school principals. The letter closed with an appeal to the sense of justice of the Controllers to put a stop to the grievance; and the appeal was successful, so far at least as the Bible-reading was concerned, but no notice seems to have been taken of the other grievances pointed out in the Bishop's remonstrance.

So far the episode seemed fruitful of nothing but good. But this was only a surface calm. There were jealous eyes observing, and the action of the Bishop was being noted to be treasured up for a day of reckoning. From this incident sprang the bitter anti-Catholic movement which continued intermittently almost down to our own day, and which found crystallized expression in the device of "the little red schoolhouse."

¶ It is customary for apologists of the present condition of public education to lay the blame for the banishment of religious education from the public schools of the United States on the attitude of Catholic prelates like Bishop Kenrick and Bishop Hughes. Such trouble, say the apologists, was given by objectors that there was no alternative left the public school managers but to exclude religion altogether and thus get rid of the responsibility once for all. Other countries which have had to deal with populations of different religious beliefs have endeavored to solve their educational problems in a more rational and less puerile way—Germany, for instance. The value of religion, even from the point of view of mere scientific statesmanship, is appreciated by all wise governments. Here it is rejected, in accordance with the genius of American ideals: there is no time to waste on anything but the practical problems of the material life. The earlier school of educators, of whom Horace Mann may be accepted as a good type, did not contemplate an educational process independent of religion. Even the trustees of Girard College, in their instructions to Professor Bache when sending him abroad to study educational methods as a foundation for the system they were empowered to establish, did not omit a direction on the subject of the religious element: he was to report on it as upon every other branch of training. The ideals of those earlier days were broader than those of the next

generation, seemingly. They accepted the mandate, and in their report favored the admission of the religious principles in the early training of the child.

And now came rushing on that whirlwind of rage and hate of which the anti-convent crusade in Massachusetts and other places, in 1833-34, was the ominous harbinger. The noble services of the Catholic Sisterhoods in New Orleans and Philadelphia—their heroic help on the battle-field and in the cholera ward, whence all others had fled in panic terror—the public thanks rendered them by Mayors and municipalities and influential public bodies—all these thrilling facts were forgotten, and only the livery they wore and the shrine at which they knelt, so abominable in their foes' poisoned mental vision, remembered. Political bias added fuel to the flame, once the match had been applied. In the false and narrow theories of economy of that day, it was the belief that the influx of immigrants then beginning was a deadly danger to the industrial class in the States, and to obviate it an association was organized, under the name of the Native American party, for the double purpose of keeping out foreigners and stamping out "Popery."

It began with an anti-convent crusade, and reached its climax in 1834. It found one pretext for active mischief in the local application to the Charleston (Massachusetts) convent of the indestructible fiction that nuns are detained in such institutions against their will. The convent in question was conducted by Ursuline nuns. On a peaceful Sunday night—August 11, 1834—it was attacked by a ferocious mob. According to the report of a committee of Protestant gentlemen, the rioters plundered everything they could conveniently carry away, desecrated the altar and symbols of Catholic worship, and then reduced the beautiful pile to a mass of smoking ruins. They next burned down the Bishop's residence,

his library, farm house and barns. "And not content with this," said the committee, "they burst open the tomb of the establishment, rifled it of the sacred vessels there deposited, wrested the plates from the coffins, and exposed to view the mouldering remains of their tenants." There followed the mockery of a "trial." But the jury being of "the right color," only one of the guilty parties was brought to justice. The rest were acquitted in the face of direct and overwhelming evidence of their guilt.

"From Charleston, Massachusetts, to Charleston, South Carolina," says Maguire (in "The Irish in America"), "the malignant influence was borne. . . . But at the first hint of danger a gallant band of Irishmen rallied in defense of the menaced convent of Charleston, and its Irish Bishop coolly examined the flints of their rifles to satisfy himself that there should be no missing fire—no failure of summary justice. The Buzzells are brave against women; but they care less to see a man's eye gleaming along a musket barrel, if the ominous-looking tube be pointed at their precious persons. So in South Carolina and in other States the resolute attitude of those who would have willingly died in defense of the best and noblest of humanity saved the country at that time from still deeper disgrace."

An attempt was likewise made to destroy St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York. The rioters advanced upon it, only to find the streets leading to it torn up, every window around occupied by determined defenders, and over the low churchyard wall a little forest of musket barrels in the hands of men who knew how to use them. The unexpected news came upon them like a thunderclap, when their van had nearly reached the street leading to the Cathedral, and they fled in all directions in dismay.

And now, after ten years, the same red terror awakes

in Philadelphia. There what was known as the "Protestant Association" (an Orange body) joined forces with the so-called "Native American Party." This dual alliance was encouraged by "reckless firebrands and intriguing politicians," and Orange flags appeared and Orange party tunes were played in the thick of the tumults which they raised. The author of "Olive Branch" summed up as follows the exploits of this seditious combination:

"The Native American party has existed for a period hardly reaching five months, and in that time of its being what has been seen? Two Catholic churches burnt, one thrice fired and desecrated, a Catholic seminary and retreat consumed by the torches of an incendiary mob, two rectories and a most valuable library destroyed, forty dwellings in ruins, about forty human lives sacrificed, and sixty of our fellow-citizens wounded; riot, rebellion and treason rampant, on two occasions, in our midst; the laws set boldly at defiance, and peace and order prostrated by ruffian violence."

When a pretext is needed for an onslaught on the unoffending, the flimsiest sort suffices. Bishop Kenrick had dared to ask that if the Bible was to be read as portion of the public school exercises, the Catholic version should be used for the instruction of Catholic children. This was enough for the party of intolerance and lawlessness. A chaplain of the United States Navy, the Rev. Walter Colton, was the incendiary who flung the lighted match into the ready magazine of wrath. He published a virulent pamphlet attacking the Bishop's modest letter, and distorting it into a demand that the Bible be altogether excluded from the schools. To this misrepresentation the prelate replied in a temperate document, placing the views of the Catholics in their proper light. They demanded nothing, he said, but what was guaranteed by the State Constitution in regard to the

rights of conscience, and that the school laws should be faithfully observed, in so far as they recognized the rights of parents in the matter of religious belief and the exclusion of sectarian influence from the schools. To show the anxiety of the Catholics to avoid the semblance of offense, Bishop Kenrick pointed out that they had abstained from the holding of public meetings on this important subject, but that he, in this correspondence, was expressing their views and desires.

This mild and conciliatory attitude, so far from producing a good effect, seems rather to have infused a belief that it was a good opportunity to teach the Catholics a lesson that they would not be likely to forget. The determination to do so took shape by a sort of instinctive process of logical sequence. Meetings of the Native American party were held in several places, and these, which were very largely attended, were in several cases addressed by Protestant ministers; and at all of them the calumny that the Catholics were clamoring for the exclusion of the Bible from the schools formed part of the general indictment laid by the emissaries of sedition. Again did Bishop Kenrick endeavor to allay the excitement by addressing to the School Board a clear and emphatic statement of what the Catholics really did ask; but his correction was evidently not desired; and it is a fact that reflects gravely on the character of that responsible body, in that day, that these endeavors to allay the public excitement and preserve the city's peace should have been so coldly met as they seem, from the public records, to have been; for a contemptuous silence was the only result elicited by the reiteration of the demand for the Catholic version of the Bible. So, encouraged by this attitude, the Native American party took measures to strike terror into the hearts of those who had the temerity to claim equality before the laws

of the State. The opportunity was favorable for the conspirators. Election time was at hand, and political animus was easily surcharged with the virus of fanatical passion. On the 6th of May a meeting was held by the Native Americans and their mob supporters, and this was the beginning of a drama of horror and infamy, in the name of religion and liberty, which has no fitting counterpart save in the recent savage outbreak in China by the fanatics known as Boxers. Against the Irish residents of the city, whose nationality seems to have been no less objectionable than their religion, the most inflammatory language was employed; and as some of the listeners happened to belong to the hated race, it would appear, violent collisions took place at the breaking up of the meeting. The Irish population at that time mostly resided in one section of the city; and, infuriated at the resistance met with, the Native Americans marshalled their forces at night-time and swept down upon the district, which embraced the quarter called Kensington and several streets adjacent. On Franklin and Second streets many Irish families of the working class had their habitations, and with the destruction of these the bloody tragedy began. An attack was made upon them; doors and windows were battered in; bands of savage men burst into the rooms and flung the inmates, women and children mostly, into the streets. The men found there naturally resisted the brutal outrage, and some of the assailants were struck down, never to rise again. Maddened by this result, the invaders began to set fire to the houses, and soon the glare of a great conflagration made the heavens blush at the fiendish devastation of zealots. In Bishop Kenrick's memorandum we find it noted that in this attack one American was slain and one Irishman wounded, but the names of these are not recorded. Then a rush was made by the

invaders toward the house situated at the corner of Second and Phœnix streets, where a little band of Catholic women had been organized for work like that of Sisters of Charity; but a few gallant men had hurriedly collected there, and these received the destroyers with a volley, which put them to flight.

On the following day placards were found posted throughout the city, over the signature of Bishop Kenrick, calling upon his people to humble themselves before God because of the tragic and horrifying events of the yesterday, and conjuring them to keep away from all public places of meeting and avoid everything that might tend to exasperate the party of persecution. He earnestly counselled peace, and, above all things, *charity*—that virtue without which, he reminded his people, no one can see God. It is said that it requires two sides at least to make a quarrel; but in this particular outburst the rule was inoperative, inasmuch as one of the parties was bent on having a quarrel, cause or no cause. The placards were torn down by the Native American zealots, and the leaders of the party called a meeting of adherents, for the same day, in the State House yard. Violent harangues against the "Irish Papists" were here indulged in. Inflamed by these rhetorical stimulants, the mob spontaneously started out for the Irish quarter, Kensington, where, it was reported, a Native American flag had been torn down and trampled in the gutter. The first dash was made for the Hibernia Hose Company's building. Over a thousand men took part in the rush, and there were but a handful of defenders. These, however, battled bravely, until forced to fly by reason of the flames which the incendiaries quickly raised above their heads. The assailants then proceeded to ply the torch upon the neighboring dwellings and drive the inmates into the streets, as on the preceding day. But their

triumph was dearly bought. The men of the locality, although outnumbered by twenty to one, made the stand for hearth and home that has ever distinguished the race from whence they sprang. While but one Irish life was lost, in that scene of fierce tumult, twelve or more of the Native American mob were slain outright and forty more put *hors de combat* by the stout defenders. But the mob had an awful revenge. Sixty houses were put to the torch, and for the time being their inmates rendered homeless.

With a suspicious supineness the Mayor (Mr. Scott) and Magistrates of the city beheld these frightful occurrences, and made no move to check the outrages until they culminated in the second day's conflagration and riot. Then they took action, but in a very remarkable manner. They sent an armed force into Kensington and arrested a large number of its Irish male population on the charge of having incited the riot! To Captain Fairlamb, the leader, Father Loughran, the pastor, next day, handed the keys of St. Michael's Church, thus placing it under the protection of the law. Instead, however, of fulfilling his duty, that functionary allowed the church to be fired before his eyes—"dissimulante, ut videtur, milite"—the soldier winking at the outrage—as Bishop Kenrick records in his Diary.

Nor was Kensington the only scene of horror and death that dreadful night. In the heart of the city the frantic Native American orgies were held, with similar shocking consequences. St. Augustine's Church, with its valuable library of five thousand volumes, was the next object of attack. The authorities had been warned that such was the intention of the Native Americans, and some show of preparation had been made to frustrate the design. The Mayor put himself at the head of a posse of citizens, and kept guard at the rear of the building, while he placed the city watch in front. These precau-

tions proved utterly inadequate to the need. Quickly a great mob assembled, and a furious onslaught was made upon both the church and those who made a pretense of protecting it. A hail of missiles was poured upon both; the Mayor was felled by one of these, and the posse and the watch were sent flying before the wild rush of the destroyers. Then, and only then, were the military called out; but these, the First City Troop, might just as well have remained at home for all the service they rendered on that particular occasion. The mob was in the midst of its fell work when they came on the scene, but they made no real effort to disperse it. The church had been fired, the flames were licking its cupola, and the savage crowd were howling with delight on seeing the cross, the emblem of salvation, topple into the flames; but neither the firemen who were present nor the soldiers sent to protect life and property made any serious attempt to stop the dreadful work. Not alone the church, but the rectory and the large adjacent building which had served as a residence, seminary and library, and had been also devoted to the purposes of a hospital in the days of the plague by the charity of St. Augustine's pastor, were burned to the ground that night, in the presence of the so-called guardians of public law and private right.

Blooded with the success of their shocking work on Fourth street, the howling mob took up the cry soon raised, "On' to St. John's!" Nor, indeed, was the Cathedral alone in danger just then; it was certainly the intention of the Native Americans to wipe out every Catholic building in the city, no matter whether it were church, convent or orphan asylum. Portion of the crowd seems to have broken off and moved toward the convent on Second and Phœnix streets, which had been so successfully defended at the beginning of the riots.

There were no defenders now to check the raiders, as no renewal of the attack seems to have been anticipated, and so the building was soon a mass of flames and the noble women who had been publicly thanked for their defiance of the plague in the cause of suffering humanity, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, were quickly houseless and terrified fugitives.

These shocking deeds, it is melancholy to think, were all perpetrated in the name of a purer religion and a higher patriotism!

Around St. John's, as well as St. Mary's, the authorities, now awakened to the magnitude of the danger, had placed guards during the course of that night; and similar precautions were taken next day with regard to St. Philip Neri's and Holy Trinity. The respective orphan asylums, too, were placed under protection. All the vestments and sacred vessels had been removed from these churches and left in private Catholic houses for safety. The priests were compelled to doff their clerical garb for the time, as their lives were in the deadliest peril.

Few men would have acted, in the midst of such a reign of lurid horror, as Bishop Kenrick, apparently *proprio motu*, or rather enlightened by Divine wisdom, determined then to act. He issued a manifesto to his flock, declaring it to be his intention, in view of the destruction hanging over their churches, to suspend temporarily all public worship in every church in the city, and exhorting every Catholic once more to bear patiently the trials of the hour, since affliction patiently borne would only render its victims the more acceptable to our Divine Lord. This document, which bore date May 10, 1844, is probably unique in modern Church history: it brings one back, in spirit, to the dread days of the Catacombs and the Colosseum.

It was effectual, however, for its purpose. It made the public authorities recognize the shame of the situation. They beheld the Constitution outraged with impunity by a ferocious organization acting in the most openly defiant disregard of its principles, and so exposing the weakness of those who should maintain the law as to stir the most sluggish and secretly sympathetic to at least a show of loyalty to that Constitution. This action of Bishop Kenrick was not universally approved, nor were its motives rightly interpreted, even among Catholics, at the time. But there is nothing clearer now than that it was prompted by the highest wisdom. Fear for himself never for one moment entered into the problem; his sole thought was the preservation of his churches and his priests and people and the holy things of God's worship. While others slept or were hiding in disguises, he was seen going around in the night-time, in his proper ecclesiastical garb, watching the threatened buildings and noting whether they were properly guarded or not. This fact is vouched for by some survivors of the old fire companies, whose duties kept them on the *qui vive* at all hours of the night, and more especially so during that period of extraordinary trial.

Keen as was the Bishop's anxiety, profound his sorrow, at the sufferings which he saw around him, we search almost in vain for any denotement of his feelings in his own chronicle of those sombre days. Only one sentence, at the end of his graphic but simple statement of the havoc, tells of the thoughts which stirred his breast. "Heu! in quae servati sumus tempora!" Stranger times, indeed, than even those which drew from Cicero a similar sigh of wonder two thousand years before.

During these awful times the plight of Bishop and clergy and flock was often indescribably pitiable. The most dreadful apprehensions prevailed regarding the

safety of the consecrated elements. This was the first object of care. From St. Mary's they were taken to a boarding house near by, on Fourth street, managed by a Catholic family named Lipp, and kept there, along with the altar vessels and other sacred articles, until the storm had blown over. The clergy were compelled to conceal their clerical dress for the time. It has been said that Bishop Kenrick adopted the habit of a Quaker, but this is a matter of considerable doubt. The fact that his usual headgear differed little in shape from the broad-brimmed hat of the Society of Friends may have given rise to the suggestion. His own correspondence makes no mention of the adoption of any disguise by himself.

The real blame for those abominable atrocities cannot be laid at the doors of the frenzied mobs. It was the writers of the lying and inflammatory pamphlets which Bishop Kenrick, Bishop Hughes and other able writers successfully refuted. The object of such pamphlets was not the determination of the truth in the matters at issue, but the goading of public opinion to a state of fury by chimerical tales of designs against the State and the public welfare on the part of the Catholic minority. In fact, free America was being made the theatre of an experiment precisely similar to the enterprise of Titus Oates and his companions in knavery, or that of Shaftesbury and his accomplices in a preceding reign. The language of those incendiary pamphleteers was never surpassed in vilipend, even in the days of the Lord Protector; and as the writers generally appeared to possess a tolerable degree of education, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that it was not entirely ignorance that made them so misrepresent the aims and teachings of Catholics and Catholicism, but simply and solely malice prepense and design to stir up riot and bloodshed. The outcome of their maladroit efforts was the forma-

tion of a sort of thuggee called the "Native American party."

The storm appeared to have blown over, and the Catholics ventured forth and began to look around for means to supply for the time the needs of public worship. From the ruins of St. Michael's Father Donahoe had some materials collected, and with these and others he had been able to put up a temporary chapel on the site of his burnt residence, wherein public worship was resumed as well as might be under such cramped conditions. Services were also recommenced at the churches which had survived the tempest unscathed. But the lull was deceptive. Like some meteorological outbursts to which we are accustomed, the movement was cyclonic, wheeling around again after it had moved off some distance, to vent its rage upon the same point.

At the beginning of the July following it was learned that a fresh attack was being planned upon the Catholics. A procession of Native Americans marched through the streets, and on the banners borne by the seditious patriots appeared emblems typical of their sentiments—such as an open Bible and a dead serpent, with the explanation that it was allegorical of the dying power of Rome. This was on the 4th; and on the following day it was clearly demonstrated that the serpent of fanaticism was not killed but merely scotched. A fierce attack was made upon the Church of St. Philip Neri, in Southwark. Knowing that danger menaced the building, the Governor had given his permission to have some arms stored there for its defense, and seeing these being carried in some of the Native party raised an alarm and a mob was soon surging, bent on havoc, in the vicinity. The Sheriff quickly appeared on the scene, and, to placate the howling crowd, despite the Governor's order, had the arms removed. This, however, failed to dissipate the danger. The mob.

on the contrary, grew only the more furious and clamorous for attack. At this juncture General Cadwallader, with a part of the city cavalry, came to the rescue, just barely in time to save the sacred edifice from destruction, but not to avert a sanguinary encounter. The mob had the temerity to attack the military, and kept up the fight even though General Cadwallader had opened fire with artillery on them. Many were killed and wounded on either side before the scene of death and terror closed that night. Next day, undeterred by these tragic results, but rather the more exasperated by them, the Native American crowd reassembled for a renewal of the attack. A military company called the "Montgomery Hibernia Greens," by permission of General Cadwallader, had been mustered for the defense of the church, and knowing the reception that awaited them if they ventured to attack, the mob held off all that Saturday. But on Sunday they appeared before the building, and began an attack with cannon and small arms, and some fierce fighting took place. The handful of Irish defenders, finding themselves enormously outnumbered and entrapped, determined to make a rush for their lives. They got out over a side wall, and would have been instantly killed only that a few of the city soldiery came to their assistance. The attack on the church was kept up until evening, when General Cadwallader and his cavalry again bore down upon the assailants. Fighting of a desperate character went on until the shades of night put an end to the sanguinary work, and allowed the mob to disperse to their homes in the different quarters of the city from whence they had been summoned by the tocsin of faction. They left thirty of their number dead on the streets, while fifty more who had been wounded were carried off the field by the fugitives. Two of General Cadwallader's force were slain on the occasion. Next day the Magis-

trates, seeing the gravity of the situation, had the city parcelled out into districts, under martial law, and bodies of troops were sent into each to seize all the arms that could be found in private houses. These measures, together with a proclamation by the Governor, David R. Porter, had the effect of quelling the disturbances finally.

After an outbreak of so fierce and destructive a kind, decency required that some show be made of bringing to account those who were responsible for it or known to be participants. A grand jury was impanelled ostensibly for this solemn purpose, but those who had the management of such duties knew the sort of men that could be relied on to frustrate the requirements of justice. In their declaration on the culpability in the matter, the grand jury "found" that the cause of the riots was "the efforts of a portion of the community to have the Bible excluded from the public schools." In the face of Bishop Kenrick's repeated statements on the subject, it is difficult to realize how any men sworn to discover and announce the truth could have the hardihood to make such an assertion as this. But these forsworn individuals were quite prepared to go even further on the path of falsification. Those who had been slain while engaged in the diabolical work of burning Catholics out of their homes were described by those perjurers as "unoffending citizens," while the defenders of their homes, the Irish, were punished by having several of their number returned for trial on the charge of murder or riot; and although it was known to all the city that it was the Native American party who marched with arms into the Irish district to slay and to burn, not one syllable of the fact was known to the grand jury, so far as their "findings" on that occasion showed. Neither did the gentlemen who drew them up seem to have known anything of the destruction of Catholic churches and school houses and

orphanages by the Native American party and their auxiliaries the mob. Moreover, every tortuous device known to traffickers in "the law's delay" was resorted to in order to defeat the claims of the Catholic body to just compensation, under the laws of the State, for the property destroyed by the mobs; and it was not until after the lapse of many years that these claims were finally settled.

But with the better class of citizens the effect of those terrible episodes was sobering and chastening. They perceived with horror how fearful a thing it is to address words of fanatical heat to ignorant crowds, and how widely different was such conduct from the maxims of that religion for whose inviolability the party of riot and murder professed to be so anxious. Coals of fire were heaped upon their heads by the meek action of the Bishop and the priests of the city. No rebuke could be more keen than the sight of the closed doors of the Catholic churches and the armed guards pacing to and fro in front and about. With such a reproach staring them in the face, all honorable citizens felt that either they must say, "This is no longer the land of liberty" or put an end forever to the tyranny that would destroy the supreme glory of the American Constitution.

The kindly and thoughtful disposition of Bishop Kenrick is strikingly manifested in the simple entry he makes in his Diary concerning the end of the fighting around St. Philip's, in those never-to-be-forgotten days of trial. After noting that on the Tuesday following the later outbreak the church was handed over to him by the city authorities, and that Mass was celebrated there on the following Sunday, he adds: "Me suadente, egressus est ex urbe Revs. Ds. J. P. Dunn, qui parochus est ecclesiae. Post paucas hebdomadas rediit, suaque obit munia." The dreadful ordeal through which he had passed, we

may reasonably surmise, had shattered the nerves of the devoted priest, who probably had been in feeble health previously; yet Bishop Kenrick seems to have had some trouble to induce him to leave his post even for the purpose of recuperation; he even appears to have had to use pressure to that end, as the expression "Me suadente" would indicate. The priest who took Father Dunn's place on that occasion was the Rev. Nicholas Cantwell, afterwards Monsignor and Vicar-General of the Diocese. Father Dunn returned after a few weeks, and was for several years pastor of St. John's Church.

CHAPTER IX.

Division of the Philadelphia Diocese—The New Bishop of Pittsburg—Death of Bishop Conwell—Peter Richard Kenrick Consecrated Coadjutor of St. Louis.

Whatever the inconvenience and fatigue of the work, however unequal his powers to the strain, gradually increasing in tension as the years went on, Bishop Kenrick never faltered in the task which he had laid out for himself as one of the most imperative of his office, his annual visitations. With unfailing regularity we trace the record of his journeys in his Diary, and the evidences also of their increasing difficulty.

Some little relief was afforded him, however, in the appointment of the Rev. Michael O'Connor to the Vicar-generalship of Pittsburg, in 1841. This was a memorable year in the ecclesiastical history of Philadelphia, inasmuch as it witnessed the consecration of two Bishops —namely, that of Dr. Peter Paul Lefevre, as Bishop of Zela and Coadjutor of Detroit, and of Bishop Kenrick's brother, Dr. Peter Richard, as Bishop of Drasa and Coadjutor of St. Louis. The former ceremony took place in St. John's Church; the latter in St. Mary's.

Troubles with the trustees were not by any means the only ones which were sent to try the soul and test the patience of Bishop Kenrick. Others soon came in the shape of conflicts on questions of authority with the old Bishop, Dr. Conwell. The infirmities of age appear to have been accompanied, in his case, with a querulous habit which seemed to detect slights and disrespect where none were intended, and a jealousy of his episcopal privileges seems to have at times caused him to overlook those

of the new Bishop. Impaired health brought impaired powers of perception at times, and thus the old prelate was hurried into an unseemly course of action in publicly protesting against some of Dr. Kenrick's proceedings as administrator. To his intemperate attack Bishop Kenrick replied with quiet but firm dignity, pointing out that his action was strictly in accordance with his episcopal powers as administrator of the diocese. This angry passage at arms unfortunately got into print, and is preserved in pamphlet shape, but it left no ill effects. In his better moments the old and much-persecuted Bishop regretted his action in the matter, and before his end came he and the object of his hot attack were perfectly reconciled.

In the year 1842 the chief ecclesiastical event in the Philadelphia diocese was the demise of the venerable old Bishop. Despite his many cares and conflicts with some intractable priests and presumptuous trustees, this robust-framed old son of Patrick carried his years far beyond the usual span of the modern patriarch. He lived to over ninety years, but not without paying in many ways the penalties of extreme old age. He had lost his sight for a considerable time before his release came, and he had been deprived of the privilege of celebrating the holy sacrifice by reason of his physical infirmities. These great trials he bore, as he had borne many others of a different kind, with resignation and a quiet Christian cheerfulness. All remembrance of past troubles between himself and his clergy and flock had long been softened by the hand of time and the spectacle of his patiently-borne sufferings; and there was naught felt but sympathy and sorrow for the old servant of God when it was given out that he had at last been eased from the burden of years. His end was characteristic of the race of Irish priests—full of ardent love of God and our

Blessed Lady and the humble hope that these feelings, cultivated day by day during a lifetime, are certain to inspire. On Friday, the 22d of April, 1842, he breathed his last. His obsequies were carried out in the Church of St. Joseph, Bishop Kenrick being the celebrant of the Requiem Mass, Rev. Canon Sulzbacher assisting. All the clergy and the seminarians of the diocese and many local Catholic societies attended his funeral; and his bones were laid, like those of countless other Irish soldiers of the Cross, not among his kindred in their native clay, but in the far-off but friendly soil to whose service his soul had been in life devoted.

It was not until the year 1843 that Bishop Kenrick was successful in having his recommendation of a division of his wide diocese approved by the Holy See. His motives for making the recommendation appear to have been either misrepresented or misapprehended. Bishop England had opposed it and wished it postponed at least until the meeting of the next Council of Baltimore. In the meantime Bishop Kenrick, who had been named as Coadjutor to Bishop Dubois, of New York, wrote to the Holy See to state his reasons against accepting the nomination and his views on the question of the division of the Philadelphia diocese. So far back as 1836 this course had been sanctioned by the Propaganda and the Pope, and the documents creating a new See of Pittsburg and transferring Bishop Kenrick thereto had been formally drawn up, Dr. Hughes being nominated as his successor in the former see. The Bishop was fully justified by the action of the Vatican. When the Council assembled at Baltimore it proceeded to divide the diocese as formerly recommended, and the Rev. Michael O'Connor received the appointment of first Bishop of Pittsburg.

It was with the cordial approval of Bishop Kenrick that the mitre of the new see was bestowed on this young

priest. He had known him for five years, as professor in the Seminary of St. Charles, and had witnessed his zeal as a missionary priest while fulfilling his teaching responsibilities there. He was most assiduous in this missionary work, and to his zeal was owing the erection of the Church of St. Francis Xavier at Fairmount, with whose proportions and equipment Bishop Kenrick seems to have been deeply impressed. Father O'Connor was in Rome when the new see was established. Thither he had repaired to beg permission from the Pope to enter the Society of Jesus—on which he had long set his heart. But he had been marked out for the new American mitre, and when he knelt before the Sovereign Pontiff he was not permitted to rise until he had agreed to rise as elect Bishop of Pittsburg. He reluctantly yielded, and on the 15th of August, 1843, he was consecrated by Cardinal Fransoni in the Church of St. Agatha in Rome.

One cannot but be struck with the felicity in choice of persons presented for promotion by the Propaganda to the Pope at that particular epoch. No small knowledge of psychology was needed to select men fitted for the great task of building up new sees in vast unknown regions in a far-off land, and so seeking to redress the Church's losses in a worn-out civilization. Its policy in selecting young men for this high enterprise had been signally justified, in the case of Bishop Kenrick especially. Father O'Connor was destined to prove a fresh example of the feasibility of placing an old head on young shoulders. He was only thirty-three years old when he was called upon to don the mitre. Born near Cork in the year 1810, he had been early sent to France for his education, like many another bright Catholic lad in that day of moribund persecution, and soon found his way to the College of Propaganda. There he had attracted the attention and won the praise

of one whom he might proudly claim as a fellow-countryman, the versatile Nicholas Wiseman, by the acumen and elegance of his defense in the tests. His ordination took place on the 1st of June, 1833, and immediately afterward he received the appointment of professor of Holy Scripture, and subsequently that of vice-rector in the Irish College. A little time after he was recalled to Ireland, to become parish priest of Fermoy. Bishop Kenrick had learned much of his sanctity and learning, and deeming that they were such as he needed for the realization of his great ideals, had invited him to join him in the work of St. Charles' Seminary. This was in the year 1839; and four years afterwards we find him raised to the more exalted but more arduous honor of the episcopate in a new country.

Before assuming control in the United States, however, the state of the diocese rendered it imperative on Dr. O'Connor to seek some aid in the Old World. He knew that it stood in want of priests; he knew he himself stood in want of vestments and plate and the other accessories of divine worship. Therefore he went to London, whence he addressed a letter to the Leopold Verein, which had nobly stood by the nascent American Church in the past on many occasions. This business despatched, he proceeded to Ireland to pick up priests for his new charge. He was fortunate in securing eight seminarians from Maynooth, together with a band of Sisters of Mercy from the mother house in Dublin; and with all these he arrived safely in Pittsburg on the 3d of December in the same year. As he had no episcopal residence awaiting him, he was fain to content himself with the accommodations or the limitations of an hotel on his arrival. In his diocese—which embraced the counties of Bedford, Huntington, Clearfield, McKean and Potter, and all territory west of these—there were

thirty-three churches, or substitutes for churches—namely, nineteen of brick or stone, and the others frame or log structures. He had a Catholic population of 45,000, and of these 12,000, it was estimated, were Germans. For the spiritual welfare of this population he had fourteen priests. His principal church was the factory building previously described. The Sisters of Charity conducted an academy together with an orphanage and an asylum. These, broadly speaking, were the entire Catholic resources of the new diocese when Bishop O'Connor was given the task of organizing it. His first large official act was to convene his clergy in council and enact statutes for the government of the diocese, and as a preliminary step, first of all, he invoked the favor of our Blessed Lady by decreeing that the feast of the Immaculate Conception be observed as a day of extraordinary devotion by all the faithful. There was no seminary; the Bishop initiated steps for the establishment of one; there were no parochial schools; he ordained that they should be set up in all places where it was feasible so to do. He also opened a chapel for the colored people of Pittsburg. He commenced, likewise, a Catholic weekly newspaper, and with the same view, the enlightenment of the people, formed the nucleus of a circulating library. The Sisters of Mercy, under his authority, took steps to provide for the sick and the injured, by receiving them into their own house until such time as they could erect a hospital. A Catholic beneficial society, designated the Brotherhood of St. Joseph, began the work of Catholic social science, as it may be called, amongst the working population, so laying the foundations of thrift and morality in a swiftly growing Catholic community. The energy with which the new Bishop threw himself into the work intrusted to him, and the wonderful hold which he quickly acquired

over the people, gave proof of the sagacity of the Propaganda in picking out truly apostolic men from among the ranks of the younger clergy.

Henceforth the history of the Pittsburg see belongs to its proper chronicle; there is no longer reason why it should be interwoven with the career of Bishop Kenrick, save at times when the angles of contact again touched. Its history previously had been that of his diocese, and what progress it had made, in the work of rough-hewing its Catholic church, was chiefly the fruit of his energy and resourcefulness in dealing with refractory and wrong-headed officials.

The change was in every way beneficial. It left the overworked Bishop some better opportunity of consolidating and perfecting the organization of his reduced diocese, which embraced the more populous portions of Pennsylvania, together with Delaware and the southern part of New Jersey—an area still large enough for the most ambitious or indefatigable of spiritual overseers. It embraced within its cincture, at the time the division was authorized, a total of fifty-eight churches—namely, in Pennsylvania fifty-one, in Delaware three, and in New Jersey four; and the work of the Church was carried on by twenty-nine secular priests, seven Jesuits and four Augustinians. There were besides, in St. Charles' Seminary, the priests of the mission in charge of thirty theological students.

The German population of the diocese had so largely increased that it was felt there must be more church accommodation provided. It seemed to the Bishop that the emergency could be best met by applying to the Redemptorists, and so a German deputation set out for Baltimore, armed with a letter from him to the superior of the order, the Very Rev. Alexander Czvitkovicz, asking the aid of the order in the desired object. The

request was successful. The superior came to Philadelphia, looked around for a suitable location, and found it in the Kensington district, on Fifth street and Girard avenue. There he purchased three frame houses, which he altered so as to make them answer the purposes of one church. The idea thus germinated blossomed ere long and bore fruit, which we behold to-day in the splendid edifice recently rehabilitated and offered to God in a new wedding garment—St. Peter's Church.

People talk of evolution in nature. They look upon the theory as a key to many mysteries. The key will not fit into any lock save one whose wards are made of aeons and cycles. We who live now have seen that the theory does not consort with the fact of American growth. The log-hut and the tinker's shieling stood, not long ago, where now stands the gorgeous palace of the millionaire; beautiful shrines of Catholic worship have displaced within living memory the poor planked shell wherein the self-exiled sons of Patrick and Boniface met to worship the God of their fathers. It was no evolution here. There were no ancient pagan shrines whose marbles might be consecrated to a nobler purpose, to be drawn upon; only the inexhaustible stores of the forest temples whose sculptors were the bronzed hardy woodmen, and whose architects the simple craftsmen of saw and hammer and chisel. Here, at all events, the principle was not evolution, but new and special creation. The retrospect is useful. It enables us to comprehend how the Church which began in Western Europe in the cashels of the Gaelic monks and the groups of wattled huts wherein science had its birth in the lap of religion, branched forth into the glorious minsters and the majestic universities whose white characters written over the face of Europe spelt the word "civilization." The first collection in the modest wooden shrine dedicated by the Philadelphia

Germans to the Prince of the Apostles realized just the sum of one dollar and forty cents. Yet not long after we find them laying the foundation of a substantial stone and brick church; and only a few months ago they were summoned to worship in a renovated Gothic building of splendid proportions and rich in embellishment, such as would do credit to any European capital. The evolution theory fails when we come to consider our faith and our worship; their principle is that of new birth. And this is the case with regard to the church architecture in which it is enshrined on this continent: it illustrates the principle of progress independently of evolution.

Soon after the Germans had succeeded in their prayer in regard to church accommodation, Bishop Kenrick took measures for adjusting the spiritual work of the whole diocese to the topographic conditions. He parcelled the city out into districts, conformably to a decree of the Council of Trent as well as the statutes of his own diocesan synod. To the pastor of Trinity Church and the Redemptorists was given the care of the German population; the Jesuits and the Augustinians were confined to their own congregations in the matter of the administration of the sacraments. As some confusion had arisen in discipline because of the many years of internal conflict in the diocese, rules had to be laid down for the spiritual care of the inmates of hospitals, almshouses and penitentiaries. On the 20th of February, 1844, a law was passed in the Pennsylvania Legislature under which the Catholic Bishops of Philadelphia and Pittsburg, and their successors, were authorized to acquire and hold real and personal property for the maintenance of churches, seminaries, orphanages and other religious and benevolent purposes.

It seems not a little curious that any need for such an act should have existed under a Constitution which

guarantees liberty to every religious denomination; but the fact that such was really the case leads to the inference that the ingenuity of intriguers had been equal to the task of securing incongruity between State laws and the specific declarations of the Federal Constitution in matters of detail and local application.

In the fall of 1844 the Augustinian Fathers had so far recovered lost ground as to be able to open for worship the temporary chapel which they had erected on the ruins of their old church. This chapel they very lovingly dedicated to Our Blessed Lady, Mother of Consolation, to whose sympathetic help they had oft appealed, and not in vain, as they believed, in their time of agony. Also a temporary church had arisen beside the ruined St. Michael's, and new ones, necessitated by the destruction of the old edifices, had sprung up respectively at Port Richmond and Frankford. So far shot and fagot had failed to stay the onward march of the Church in Philadelphia; their malice had served rather to concentrate the energies of her leaders and adherents and awaken the interest of many outside her fold because of the martyr spirit displayed before the world in the attitude of Bishop and flock.

Still the force of the storm was not spent, but only lessened and lulled for the time. It seemed to move in recurring periods. Beginning in the year 1834, it lay dormant for a decade, and then, glutted with havoc, subsided. From 1844 until 1854 there was a cessation of its malice, and when the next decade came it had shrunk back before the giant spectre of civil war. Periods of national danger are fatal to the demons of an unholier discord. Civil strife is evil enough, when political supremacy is the bone of contention; but what comparison can it bear to the fury of a religious struggle? When the nation was called to arms to repel the oppressor or

preserve the bond of union, no bigot dared fling the brand of discord among the mustering citizen defenders. This is why we enjoy religious freedom to-day, for the persecuted was given the opportunity to scatter the calumnies which were made the pretexts for his oppression, and prove by the outpouring of his blood in the sacred cause of country that he was nobler than his calumniators. For the present this history may take leave of Native American malice, but it will be met with again, under a new name to some extent, but with the same hideous habiliments and the same foul cries on its lips, later on and in other centres.

When Bishop Kenrick began his annual visitation in that memorable year of 1844 it was as late as the 25th of August ere he set out. It is highly probable that this late date arose from causes connected with the riots; but he seemed to have been determined to permit no obstacle to mar his pastoral activity. His itinerary displays extraordinary celerity in movement. Beginning at Port Elizabeth, where he was assisted by Rev. Dr. O'Hara, he began a round of confirmations which covered half the circuit of his diocese, embracing the towns of Lancaster, York, Paradise, Gettysburg, Littlestown, McSherrystown and Conewago; also a visit to St. Thomas', Villanova, where he preached in praise of St. Augustine. Returning to Philadelphia for some purpose, on the 15th of September, he resumed his round on the 9th of October, beginning at Elizabethtown, and passing thence to Carlisle, Harrisburg, Milton, Wilkesbarre, Beaver Meadow, Nesquehoning, Easton and Manayunk. In nearly all of the places named he administered confirmation to large numbers of children; in some he took the trouble to go for the purpose where there were only a few. A glance over the dates and figures of this visitation, as given in the Diary, shows that there was no

loitering by the way. Eight different towns we find covered in one interval of thirteen days—a remarkable feat, taking into account the very primitive modes of transportation which distinguished those early days.

In the year 1845 Bishop Kenrick set out for Rome, on the first visit he had undertaken since his assumption of the episcopal office. Accompanied by the Vicar-General of Texas (afterwards Bishop of Galveston), Right Rev. John Mary Odin, who was then going to Europe in search of priests, church vestments, etc., he sailed from New York on a good ship called after her captain (as the Diary tells us), the "Skiddy," on the 29th of March, and reached the port of Cork on the 22d of April—a fair voyage for a sailing ship at the time of the vernal equinox. He was welcomed by the venerable Bishop of Cork, Dr. Murphy, just then commemorating the thirtieth year of his episcopate; and a couple of days afterwards he was the guest of the distinguished Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, at dinner. Thence the visitor went on to Maynooth, and on the same day he dined, he tells us, with the mission priest at Castleknock, just outside Dublin. Next evening he took the steamer for Liverpool, and went thence on to London. In the great city Bishop Kenrick must have been a stranger, or else sought the company of nobody; probably he was suffering from the effects of travel; but there is no memorandum of visits paid or visitors received in the couple of days which intervened between his probable arrival in London and his departure for the Continent *via* Folkestone. He sailed for Boulogne and in a couple of days found himself in Paris, the guest of the Superior General of the Priests of the Mission, Father Etienne. Thence, after a couple of days, he set out alone for Marseilles, where he was warmly received by the Bishop. He eventually reached Rome on the 14th of May, and had the

felicity of offering up the holy sacrifice at the altar of St. Aloysius in the Church of St. Ignatius. In Rome he was the guest of the Irish College, whose president was the Rev. Father Tobin Kirby, for a fortnight. He was warmly received by the Holy Father on the 26th of May; and on the 28th he took his departure from the Eternal City, returning by way of Lyons, and visiting Cardinal de Bonald, and staying for some hours at Riom with the Lady de Vaure, sister of M. de Frenaye. Passing through Paris, he reached Dieppe on the 7th of June, took ship for Brighton, went on to London, and thence by Liverpool to Dublin again, where he was hospitably entertained by Thomas and Michael Cullen, and in company with Rev. Paul Cullen (afterwards Cardinal) went back to Liverpool to return to American shores. He had the pleasure of the company, for a few days, of the Right Rev. Ignatius Reynolds, Bishop of Charleston, and sailed from Liverpool for Halifax, Nova Scotia; and reached that port on the 1st of July. Thence he went on to New York, by way of Boston, and had the privilege of celebrating Mass in the Cathedral on the 4th. The same night he was back in Philadelphia safe and sound, "Deo auspice et protectore," as he concludes his Diary.

During Bishop Kenrick's stay in Rome he had the pleasure of assisting at the consecration of the Rev. Dr. Brady as Bishop of Perth, Australia—an event that was significant of the coming rise of another great branch of the Church in a still newer world than the new one opened by the discovery of Columbus. At that time only a few scattered handfuls of Catholics, separated by vast distances, offered grounds for the creation of new sees in far-off Oceanica. To-day there is a flourishing Church, with a great episcopate, a numerous clergy and temples of divine worship which vie in richness and beauty with those of the older seats of Christianity in Europe—all

of this largely owing to the zeal and piety of the people from whom Bishop Kenrick sprang. The Irish priest figures as largely in the story of the rise of the Church in Australia—if not more so, indeed—than in that of the Church in the United States. His Eminence Cardinal Fransoni was the prelate at whose hands Dr. Brady received the insignia of episcopacy; and beside Bishop Kenrick there assisted the Bishop titular of Babylon, Right Rev. Dr. Trioche.

On his return from Rome Bishop Kenrick was visited by his friend, the late Rector of the Seminary of St. Charles, Dr. Edward Barron, Bishop of Eucarpia, whose holy zeal for the salvation of souls had led him to seek a mission on the deadly West African coast. As Vicar Apostolic of Guinea, Dr. Barron had suffered many direful hardships, and had lost by death seven of the missionaries whom he had brought with him for the service. Obliged to abandon this mission, the Holy See had given him charge of the French Marist Congregation of Priests. Bishop Peter Richard happened to arrive on the scene while Bishop Barron was recounting his trials and telling of his new hopes, and he was easily persuaded to let the devoted missionary seek help in the St. Louis diocese.

In the visitation begun in this year we find the Bishop exerting himself with renovated energy, the rapidity of his movements and the number of confirmations got through, together with other business pertinent to his sacred office, indicating the benefit which he had derived by his tour in the Old World. On the visitation he had pleasant experience of the fact that the hates and prejudices of Philadelphia afforded no evidence of the feeling of the better class of Protestants. We find him noting with apparent gratification that at Towanda he was invited to dinner by an English Protestant gentleman, Dr. Wansie, where he was most pleasantly entertained;

that another, Mr. Stephens, had refused to accept any recompense for his stay at his house; and that another notable, a "vir insignis," as he styles him, named Patton, had begged that he might sojourn with him for some little time, but that pressure of engagements had obliged him to decline the kindly hospitality. All through the Bishop's memoranda, from his advent to the see of Philadelphia to his departure, we find similar evidences of the hold which he had acquired over the hearts of well disposed non-Catholics and the many cordial amenities which this softening influence had been the means of prompting.

Amid all the perplexities and anxieties of his onerous office, a great overmastering thought seems to have laid hold upon his mind. The dimensions of the Philadelphia churches, to one brought up amidst the larger European conceptions, must have long haunted him as a reproach to a large Catholic population. He was haunted by the dream of a great temple, worthy, in the majesty of its proportions and the beauty of its architectural lines and embellishments, of the sublime uses to which it would be consecrated.

In the early days of his Philadelphia episcopate, and especially during the period of friction with the trustees of St. Mary's, the new Bishop often suffered keenly from want of means. So hard pressed was he at times that an empty larder was often the problem which his priests and his housekeeper had to wrestle with, and an invitation to dinner or supper by some hospitable well-to-do Catholic family was by no means regarded as an unwarrantable attempt at familiarity. It would not be correct to describe Dr. Kenrick as an improvident or extravagant man. If he did fling money away recklessly in alms, the mistake arose from an almost incredible cause. He was simply ignorant of the value of money.

His thoughts were never occupied with such a subject. His reliance upon the bounty of Divine Providence was as complete and unquestioning as that of the fowls of the air. The need of looking out for the needs of the morrow never for a moment presented itself to his mind. Whenever he was asked for alms he gave what he had without a moment's hesitation, even though his and his curates' dinner may possibly have depended upon his action.

Numerous instances of the Bishop's self-abnegation in such cases are told by some of the old parishioners of St. John's and others who still retain their personal recollection of his saintly ways. One occasion in especial is dwelt upon as most characteristic. A poor woman had called upon him to implore his help. Her husband had died and her couple of young children were crying for food, and she all the time unable to find any employment to satisfy immediate needs. Bishop Kenrick searched his pockets, but there was no money in them; he looked into his secretaire; the drawers revealed only vacuity. He arose and sought his housekeeper and asked her for half a dollar. The good woman, upon whom all the trouble in such straits devolved, for the first time rebelled. If she gave the sum demanded, there was no more money to buy food for the morrow. Sadly the good Bishop turned away; he could not bear the sight of misery which he could not relieve. It is not known what he did; probably he gave the poor woman some article of clothing or other object which she might turn into money; for such was sometimes his resort in extremity.

On another occasion a lady who belonged to a Catholic family who lived across the street happened to be in the parlor waiting to see the Bishop when she accidentally overheard a conversation between the housekeeper and

one of the priests. She was horrified to learn, from the turn it took, that there was no supper for any one to be had in the house that evening. She quietly slipped out, and very soon there came a supply of viands that drove away Brother Wolf for that occasion. From that time forward the days of absolute privation were unknown, for the lady's family always took care that there was at least enough to eat and drink for those uncomplaining toilers in God's vineyard, whose habit of charity was so often the cause of their empty cupboard.

Francis Patrick Kenrick was devotedly attached to his mother. All his letters to her breathe the sentiments of the tenderest affection and the hope that they might be reunited in the realms of eternal happiness after their separation on earth for the sake of God. The straitened circumstances in which she had been left owing to the death of his father seems to have been a source of much distress to him—all the more poignant because his own means, for many years, were most jejune. During his sojourn at Bardstown, he tells her in one of his letters, he rarely had as much as half a dollar at his command; and he was rejoiced to be able to send her a small sum that the Bishop had been good enough to give him for her use, the donation of a charitable friend in Europe that the Bishop was authorized to use as he thought fit. In an earlier letter he had forwarded to her a gold medal which had been received from the Pope by a fellow-student who had acted as proxy for him at the ceremony of the Washing of the Feet at St. Peter's. Nothing could better illustrate the beautiful spirit of fraternity which prevailed among the students at Propaganda than the fact that he who actually got the medal—one of a number of souvenirs given to all who took part in the function—would insist on giving it to him whose place he had filled.

The financial condition of the Kenrick family must have been embarrassing indeed during the student days of the future Archbishop. Many of his letters breathe of his distress and anxiety over the heavy demands he had to meet, or rather which his family were called upon to meet, in order that his clerical education might be continued. The tone of a few is almost, indeed, that of despondency. There is good reason to believe that his parents made the most heroic struggles to meet the expense. Thomas Kenrick, his father, died in the year 1819, and under date of the 19th of that month is found a document signed by the Archbishop of Dublin, granting administration of his estate to his widow, Jane. There is no mention of the actual or approximate value of that estate. Notwithstanding his embarrassments, at times, however, it is seen that Thomas Kenrick had the charitable heart of a good Catholic, and could not see his neighbor or friend in want while he had any funds himself. Witness the promissory note found amongst the family papers, signed by Edm. Kelly, 25 Clarendon street —seemingly a friend of the family, guaranteeing to pay Thomas Kenrick the sum of five pounds thirteen shillings and nine pence (seemingly accommodating English currency to the existing Irish—for the countries still had at that time their separate exchequers and separate system of coinage). For what consideration the note was drawn is not mentioned, but it is reasonable to infer that it was for money lent—a friendly accommodation transaction.

In a letter dated Rome, 5th December, 1815, Francis P. Kenrick writes home to say how distressed he is to find that his "pension" (for tuition) was much higher than he anticipated—*i. e.*, 13 Roman scudi for the month, 156 for the year, and three months needed to be paid in advance. Dr. Murray, he added, had volunteered to pay

the first quarter, stipulating that the amount be paid back to Dr. Troy. He (the writer) could not bring himself to tell this bad news to his parents, and so he asked his uncle to break it to them. In the same letter he mentioned the fact of the presentation of a book of his relative's, Mr. Clinch, to Cardinal Litta. The chaos created in the Eternal City, as a result of the invasion of Italy by the French, may be inferred from the circumstance noted at the end of this letter that at the college where the writer was pursuing his studies there was then no professor of either Greek or Hebrew.

In a letter of the 8th of October, 1854, a proof of the esteem in which the Bishop was held by the theological faculty in Rome is afforded. He tells his brother that quite unexpectedly *(inopinato)* the Holy Father has called upon him to name a number of American prelates to forward the Holy See their definition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. That he lost no time over this weighty matter we may easily infer from the fact that we find him writing from Rome in the early days of the December following, giving a detailed account of the solemnities attending the formal proclamation of the dogma so earnestly solicited by the episcopacy throughout the Christian world. It must have cost him not a little effort to be present at this glorious function, since we find him obliged to undergo a painful operation for the removal of a tumor from his back, previous to the date of his leaving for Rome. He describes the splendid scene attending the promulgation of the dogma with much minuteness, giving the names of many of the prelates who assisted at the function. Nearly all the Bishops who had come to Rome for the occasion were lodged in the palace of the Quirinal and the adjoining houses of the nobility, and they were royally entertained by Cardinal Antonelli, the famous Secretary of State.

Little did the illustrious company dream that a few years more would witness a different sort of company in possession of that venerable appanage of the Papacy, and the houses of the old Roman nobility given over to the revels of the drunken Garibaldian rabble.

In his journey to the Eternal City Bishop Kenrick was accompanied by his friend the Bishop of Pittsburg. The voyage was made on board the steamer Atlantic, and at the invitation of the captain of that vessel Bishop Kenrick preached to all the passengers on the Sunday which occurred during the passage. In London he and Bishop O'Connor called on Mr. Buchanan, the American Minister, by whom the distinguished visitors were received with the utmost cordiality and courtesy. On the following day they called upon Cardinal Wiseman, who entertained them at dinner in his wonted princely way. The two prelates made the journey to Rome, by way of Paris, in company, and during their stay in Rome they seem to have remained together also, but owing to the momentous nature of the business which had brought them thither, they spent but little time in visiting or entertainment. There was a vast deal to be done in the preparation of the case for the dogma, much ancient and modern literature to be examined, many archives to be ransacked for patristic authorities. Nine large volumes of documents bearing on the subject were placed at the disposal of the prelates, and in an exceedingly brief time Bishop Kenrick had mastered the contents of them all and was ready to take part in the arguments for the promulgation. His mind, indeed, was already well prepared for the undertaking, for he never seems to have had the slightest uncertainty as to the sublime truth which was about to be presented in matured and concrete form. Always a fervent and whole-souled client of our Blessed Lady, he was enunciating nothing new to him-

self in declaring his belief that the chosen Lily of God was from all time exempt from the general stain of disobedience to Him. Nearly twenty years before, in writing on the claims of the Papacy, he had thus referred to her:

"There is no doubt in my mind that the veneration of the Blessed Virgin, which the Popes always cherished, was amongst the most powerful means of civilization. Woman was raised from her degradation, and no longer regarded as the slave of the haughty soldier. She was respected because of Her who was blessed among women. The mild virtues of the Virgin caught the admiration of the fierce sons of Mars, and her gentleness and sweetness were imitated by them. Holy purity was loved because it had been honored in her person. Not only vast numbers of her own sex cherished it with jealous care, but thousands of men vowed to preserve it, and sought the aid of her prayers for that purpose. It is manifest that the devotion to her was developed and exercised in those ages in a remarkable degree; and to it we may fairly ascribe all that was bland and meek in manners, all that was pure in morals, all that was tender and affecting in piety."

Averse as the Bishop was from *viva voce* controversy on religious subjects, he was by no means reluctant or diffident about entering the lists when the arena was the press. Among those with whom he crossed a lance, not ineffectually, was the Protestant Bishop of Vermont, Dr. Hopkins; and it was mainly to this encounter that the Catholic world is indebted for that masterpiece of historical argument, "The Primacy of Peter." Many pamphlets of a controversial nature appeared from his pen. Some of these are masterpieces of crushing logic sustained by an array of authorities which astonish the reader by the suggestion of the range of erudition which

underlies their authorship. Others are remorseless in their counter-attack. In especial were the life and works of the self-confessed tesgiversator, Wesley, made the subject of stinging exposure. If one is astonished, sometimes, at the vehemence of the language, the bitterness of the provocation must be considered. When we find men of the rank of Bishop Hopkins stooping to the expedient of personal abuse and the most palpable distortion of an adversary's words, in order to score a point or two for his side, we must not be surprised to find the opponent resenting such dishonest methods of polemic by handling them without gloves.

In his reply to the second letter of Bishop Hopkins, again, the position of the Church with regard to the privileges of Mary, long before the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception dogma, the Bishop wrote: "Her assumption into heaven, in body as well as in soul, and her immaculate conception are not proposed to us by the Church as matters of Divine faith, so that we need not offer any evidence in their support; but nowhere, at this day, does the faithful tongue dispute these privileges, which become her high dignity. 'He that is mighty hath done great things to me, and holy is His name.' When Bishop Hopkins ventured to charge us with blasphemy because of the high reverence which we cherish for the Mother of God, he should have remembered the language of profound respect used in her regard by Bishops Pearson and Taylor, of his own communion, and still more the prophecy of the Virgin herself, which should strike dumb those who blaspheme her: 'Behold, henceforth all generations shall call me blessed!'"

Four hundred years before, at the Council of Basle, the doctrine had been defined, but as the Council was not of "general" rank, there was no promulgation of the

definition as a dogma. The pretense of Protestants that it was a novelty in Catholic faith, therefore, arose either from ignorance of ecclesiastical history in relation to dogmatic development, or from a design to misrepresent the action of the Church and the assembly of Bishops of 1854.

Amidst the mass of Kenrick correspondence are found a few letters in the elegant clear-cut hand of Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman. One of these, dated Rome, April 7, 1840, thanks Bishop Kenrick for a copy of his work on "Papal Supremacy," expressing the hope that it may have a wide circulation in England, because Dr. Hopkins' work, to which it was an answer, had been doing much harm. The Cardinal also expresses his admiration for Bishop Kenrick's theological treatise; and his warm letter winds up with a question whether the Bishop could get his brother (Peter Richard) to begin writing on American ecclesiastical matters for the *Dublin Review*.

The time of Bishop Kenrick's sojourn in Philadelphia was now approaching its appointed period. The Archbishop of Baltimore, the Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston, had died, and there seems to have been little hesitation on the part of the Holy See concerning the most desirable successor. The choice immediately fell upon the Bishop of Philadelphia, and in August, 1851, he received from Rome the formal notification of his transfer to the Maryland capital. Moreover, by a Papal brief dated a few days later, the additional dignity of Apostolic Delegate, with the primacy of honor over the whole of the United States episcopate, was bestowed upon the new Archbishop. This primacy, which Baltimore had previously enjoyed by reason of its historical claims as the first Catholic see of the United States, was subsequently confirmed as a permanent appanage of it by means of a decree of the Sacred College, signed by the Sovereign

Pontiff, Pius IX., dated July 25, 1858, and designating the Archbishops of Baltimore holders of the perpetual primacy among the American hierarchy, with right of precedence and a seat of honor above all others, no matter what the date of their promotion or appointment.

It was from Father Bernard Smith, of the Irish College in Rome, that the news of his elevation to the primatial see of Baltimore first came, it would appear. He writes that Cardinal Barnabo had told him that the Pope had decided on it; as also of the determination to name him as his Ablegate to preside over the forthcoming Synod of the American Church. Father Smith added for himself that he was "proud to see an Irishman at the head of the American hierarchy." In a later letter on the same subject he informed the new Archbishop that to a lady named Hunt, then about to leave Rome for the United States, had been entrusted the pallium to be presented to him. This Mrs. Hunt was the most munificent benefactress of the St. Louis diocese, as mentioned in the biography of Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick.

Concerning the succession to the see of Philadelphia the Archbishop's correspondence contains strong evidence of the esteem in which he held the modest priest who was chosen for the dignity, though sorely against his own desire. His letters are eloquent in praise of his piety and zeal. Father Neumann was not favored, however, by his superiors; the objection is mentioned in a letter of Father Smith's to the late Bishop, although the ground is not stated; but the Pope, Father Smith added, had decided to overrule the objection and act on Bishop Kenrick's nomination. The nomination was confirmed, and the Bull for consecration followed the intimation on the 24th of February, 1852.

In this connection a trifling incident helps one to

realize the vast range of detail which Archbishop Kenrick's mind was enabled not only to grasp, but to retain permanently, even when occupied with the greatest of cares and the highest of religious thoughts. He noticed that in receiving the pallium from Rome there was no official document accompanying the symbolic garment, according to ancient usage, and he at once wrote to Cardinal Barnabo inquiring about the omission. Then he was informed that it was no longer customary to send the "publicum documentum" spoken of by the canonists as an essential accompaniment of the pallium; but why the custom was allowed to become obsolete was not mentioned in the reply.

It was at this time that the movement begun by Father Hecker and his early associates began to attract notice. It was not regarded by Archbishop Kenrick with favor. When converts begin to talk about making religion popular, men of the older stock, not unnaturally, turn their mental eyes back upon the early days and ask what did theApostles do—did they strive to make Christianity for the multitude or gain the multitude by appeals to what is called common sense? Mention is made of Father Hecker in his letters from Rome to the Archbishop. He intimates his presence and that of his ex-Redemptorist companions in Rome, and says that Cardinal Barnabo entertained impressions of them similar to those of the Archbishop. The Pope, he wrote, had informed them that as soon as they had been released from their vows, as they had been seeking, they became subject to the authority of their former Bishop. One of the band at least had already dissociated himself from their change of heart. This was the Rev. Clarence D. Walworth. He is found writing from Troy, N. Y., to Archbishop Kenrick in a tone which showed the high ideal he had conceived of the religious life. He could

not assent, he said, to the proposal that the ex-Redemptorists form a voluntary association with the obligation only of yearly vows; that was not his notion of what the religious life should be. As God is immutable, the Church, mirroring His spirit in her teachings, can have but one word for all time. Anything which tends to impair the force and meaning of that word, to make a *modus vivendi* between the material and the spiritual, is dangerous and delusive. This is the experience of centuries. The concept of the religious life, as found in Father Walworth's letter and the Archbishop's misgivings, is the Church's. Since then, however, the matter has been satisfactorily settled and the Paulist Fathers have been recognized by the Holy See not as a religious order, but a congregation of secular priests like the Sulpitians and others, and are engaged in active work in their New York and San Francisco communities.

When the day of separation from Philadelphia came it found that diocese in very different case as a result of Bishop Kenrick's stewardship from what it was when he took up the arduous but honorable burden. Thirty priests, as we have seen, with four small churches, then constituted the strength of its Catholic garrison; and this garrison was not only surrounded by ravening enemies, thirsting for its blood, but in still more deadly peril by reason of the traitorous brethren within its own pale. The situation which confronted him was almost without parallel in modern history for soul-trying difficulties. But the twenty years of his rule had transformed a rebellious, distracted see into the seat of peace, order and apostolic love. Discipline reigned from the centre to the uttermost bounds; and under the fostering sway of Christian charity the Church had waxed strong, become great in area and influence, respected by those who had been her foes, ready to face the responsibilities

which every succeeding wave of accession by immigration brought, and buoyant with renewed hope in God. There were now over a hundred priests, besides forty-six seminarians; the churches of the diocese, together with the chapels, numbered a hundred and two, a numerous force of holy women ministered to the orphanages and the hospitals; the lines of a majestic Cathedral had been more than laid; a Seminary fit for the purpose of a Divine nursery had been raised and set in operation. No stewardship surely was ever better fulfilled.

The grief of the Catholics of Philadelphia at the news of the transfer hardly knew how to find expression. He had been received with coldness by a large section of the turbulent; he had conquered the hearts of all by the arms of gentleness and charity. In their parting address (Tuesday, October 21st) the Catholic laity said to him:

"More than twenty years have passed since it pleased God to commit to your paternal government this portion of the Church. It is not for us to say how faithfully the sublime trust has been fulfilled. The state of religion now, as compared with its condition when you first appeared in our city, is the best evidence that God has watched over us for good, and sent among us a pastor after His own heart. The institutions which have been since founded to promote the cause of education, to relieve distress, to uphold religion; the churches which have sprung up in every part of the diocese, the congregations which have been formed and fostered by your care, the learned works with which, in the midst of so many exterior occupations, you have enriched our literature—these are at once the proofs of your apostleship among us, the memorials of God's goodness to us, and the titles to a love and a veneration, on the part of this community, which time cannot easily efface."

With all this progress, there was, however, a great

work still to be done in the diocese at the time the devoted shepherd was sent to guide another flock. The great Cathedral was only partially erected. The Seminary was seriously in debt. A letter from Father Sourin, the president, reveals the state of the perplexity in which the removal of the Bishop left his co-workers, and at the same time the joy with which the news of Father Neumann's appointment filled many. The *Catholic Herald* had opposed the appointment, and Father Sourin expresses regret that two of its articles on the subject had taken the tone they did. He did not think they came from the pens of priests, but from the editor of the paper. This inference may not have been altogether just, inasmuch as on so momentous a subject any prudent editor would take counsel with the clergy he knew ere pronouncing on the choice of a Bishop of the diocese. The Seminary, Father Sourin declared, was five thousand dollars in debt, and to meet this the ever trusty Mr. Frenaye, who had been consulted, advised Father Sourin to call a meeting of the diocesan clergy. Five thousand dollars, under present conditions in Philadelphia, would hardly be considered a herculean labor to gather, but in those days, with their rather sparse Catholic population, it must have seemed truly formidable.

As Philadelphia was originally part of the Baltimore see, it was but just that she should acknowledge her debt by returning to the parent some of the fruits of her early prevision and love. No better gift was in the power of any descendant to bestow than the intellect and the piety which had given the New World its first complete treatise on Catholic theology and those other great works that have made the name of Francis Patrick Kenrick honored for scholarship and wisdom.

Between the late Archbishop and the new there had existed a warm friendship. Few, indeed, who had been

brought into contact with Archbishop Eccleston could avoid that feeling of admiration which is the involuntary tribute of the good to equal though mayhap different virtue, as well as inferior to superior. He had possessed in a rare degree those gifts of charity and urbanity which charm and those intellectual attributes which delight. It had been his pleasing duty to preside over five different Provincial Councils during his tenancy of the Baltimore see, and his affability, hospitality and good fellowship to all the assembled Bishops had been the means of smoothing many difficulties and expediting important decisions. So generally was this fact felt that at length it found concrete expression in the shape of a splendid presentation from the whole body. It took the form of a cross and the vases and ornaments pertaining to an episcopal "capelle." The presentation had been made, on behalf of the Bishops, by Dr. Kenrick, in graceful phraseology and with such delicacy as to call forth the warm acknowledgments of the recipient. The correspondence forms part of the metropolitan archives, and is mainly interesting as a proof of the genuinely cordial relations which existed between the former Archbishop and him who in the providence of God was destined to succeed him ere many years in the same exalted charge.

One of the most absorbing chapters in modern ecclesiastical history is that which traces the growth and development of the Baltimore diocese. It has more than a Catholic interest, moreover; its origin is intertwined with the separate national life of the United States as an independent power, and is part and parcel of the national heritage. The growth of the Church in Baltimore compares with the growth of the United States since it assumed the "toga virilis" and threw off the fetters of the Old World. Its progress bears indeed a very remarkable resemblance to that of the self-emanci-

pated States in their civil development. In the rough statistics of the successive Provincial Councils we may find a ratio generally between Catholic and secular progression indicative of the impulse which had been given the whole nation by the fact of its freedom and the splendid liberality which dictated the lines of its civil Constitution.

These famous Councils, which had their origin in the far-seeing wisdom of Bishop England, began with the year 1829—a year memorable in the annals of English-speaking Catholicity. It is true that Archbishop Carroll had long dreamed of being able to assemble a Council as a means of strengthening and consolidating the infant Church, but the circumstances of his day were unpropitious and he died without the fulfilment of his great hope. The unresting energy and burning zeal of Bishop England conquered all the difficulties which had appeared insurmountable at an earlier date, and the scheme of the work, which met final approbation at the hands of Pope Pius VIII., was that suggested by Bishop England to Archbishop Maréchal, and acted on by his successor, Archbishop Whitfield. It was estimated that the Catholic population in the United States when the first Council assembled (October, 1829) numbered about half a million. Six prelates took part in the solemn deliberations—namely, the president, Archbishop Whitfield, Baltimore; Bishop England, Charleston; Bishop Flaget, Bardstown; Bishop Fenwick, Cincinnati; Bishop Fenwick, Boston; and Bishop Rosati, St. Louis. Four years later, when the second Council was held, ten prelates were present, and eight attended the third one, which took place in the year 1833. By the year 1840, when the fourth Council was held, the episcopal company had swelled to thirteen, by reason of the creation of new sees, a fact which in turn reflected the rapid increase of the Catholic

population. When the fifth was held, in 1843, the company of dignitaries had again increased, to the number of sixteen. Gratifying as was this rate of episcopal progress, it was seen to be yet inferior to that exhibited at the next muster three years later, when three and twenty prelates bore testimony to the volume of Catholic development in the free air of the young Republic.

But even these auspices, bright as they were, shrank into facts of lesser importance in view of the first proceeding of this august assembly in Baltimore, that memorable year. As by a sublime intuition, a prompting from on high, the assembled Bishops proceeded to invoke the name of the glorious Mother of God as the patroness of the whole country. They saluted her by the designation which was destined to be ratified a few years later by the voice of the whole prelacy, in universal council assembled—that title which no other ever bore or can bear, in heaven or on earth, "Blessed Virgin Mary, conceived without sin."

We live in an age when the claim of dogma is challenged, as a bold endeavor to impose upon the general reason the particular fancies or theories of children of solitude and speculation. Is it not good for us, then, to be able to say we have seen with our own eyes the living proof that such is not the genesis of dogma? We have witnessed the promulgation of two new dogmas in our own short day, and there is not a Catholic among us who does not know that this promulgation had as logical a position in the metaphysical order as any human birth in the physical. What is dogma but the expression of maturity in the garden of intellect? In this particular case it was but the beautiful touch of nature which flushes the cheek of the peach when the days of flower and fruit are full, and the delicacy of Paradise is reflected in the last imprint which nature leaves on the delicious envelope

of a fruit that seems a survival of man's lost heritage there.

It is not a little curious that the coming advent of Bishop Kenrick should have been preceded by so significant a manifestation, when we recall the part he himself had borne in shaping the trend of the discussion which preceded the ultimate definition of the dogma, as well as the part which he was destined to bear in the near future in the enactment of the definition. We behold a sequential connection in situations of this character which precludes the theory of merely human or accidental happening, and teaches us to look for causes in far higher sources.

Is it not possible to see in this connection the beginning of a prophecy's fulfilment? "For the expectation of the creature waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly but by reason of Him who made it subject in hope; because the creature also itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain until now."

It may well seem that the ultimate restoration and rehabilitation of the human race as foreshadowed by Peter and Paul, doubtless either on the word of Christ Himself or by Divine inspiration, was prefigured here, in the realization of the fact that an exception to the general doom of the rebellious was shown to be still possible and reconcilable with the inflexible justice of the Eternal Father. When the part taken by the American Church at large is considered, and the part taken by Archbishop Kenrick in particular, in the great dogma of Mary's exemption also weighed, it is difficult to resist the impression or the conviction that a portion of the "revelation of the sons of God" was unfolded at this historic meeting of

American Bishops at Baltimore, eight years before that dogma was formally declared to the whole world. Well, then, may the New World take pride in the part which its Church has played, and the share which the great theologian in his time had, toward bringing the aspiration of the ages to a glorious climax.

In addition to this exalted act of the sixth Provincial Council, that assembly claims attention because of the very practical character of the legislation it enacted for the smoothing of the path of the Church in the States and the better conduct of its internal affairs. It proposed some very important changes in the limits of various dioceses, all of which were subsequently approved by the Holy See. Again, it proposed a modification of the oath taken by the Bishops of the United States, so as to remove any objections which might be urged against it as at variance with the civil law of the country or its prerogatives as a sovereign State. It was also decreed by this Council that no priest ordained for any diocese could leave it without the written consent of the Bishop, a very useful provision in view of the great extent of the country and the many facilities thereby afforded for the evasion of duty or the penalties of ecclesiastical disobedience or other laches.

A by-incident rendered this Council year a notable one in the relations of the Church to the civil law. In connection with a case in the public courts one of the local priests, the Rev. John Hickey, had been summoned in order to give evidence regarding stolen property which had come into his keeping for return to the owner under the seal of the confessional. Father Hickey declined to testify regarding the transaction, stating that he knew nothing of it in his private capacity as a citizen, but only as a priest. His objection was sustained by the court as valid under the Maryland Bill of Rights; and from that

time forward the rule of the Church relating to inviolability of the confessional has been respected in that State.

It was the design of Archbishop Eccleston to have a Plenary Council holden in the year 1848, but it was foiled by the inability of the Archbishop of Oregon and his suffragans to attend such a gathering, because of the immense distance of that diocese from Baltimore and the few facilities for travel then existing in the remoter regions of the States. Hence the Council, which was convened for the May of the following year, was obliged to content itself with the title of the seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, but its proceedings were not less momentous than those of any of its predecessors, it may perhaps be said. Mighty events had shaken the Old World just immediately before the period of its assembling. Revolution had convulsed the continent of Europe; the Holy Father, who had endeavored to rule the patrimony of Peter as a constitutional sovereign, had been compelled to leave the Eternal City and seek a refuge at Gaeta. One of the most important acts of the Council was the issuance of a respectful and sympathetic invitation to His Holiness to come to the United States and receive the homage of the Catholic body as represented by the Council. To this the afflicted Pontiff returned a very affectionate reply, intimating that under the circumstances it was impossible for him to avail himself of their dutiful tender, and lauding the zeal and devotion of the episcopal and clerical body. From the Council then there emanated a pastoral calling upon the faithful throughout the country to come to the succor of the persecuted Pontiff by a generous contribution of Peter's Pence; and this appeal was well received and responded to.

From this Council there also went forth a still more important appeal. It was in the shape of a petition to

the general Church that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, long held as an article of belief by individual doctors of the Church, should be accepted as a binding truth and formally defined in dogmatic shape. The seventh Council still further signalized itself by enacting legislation destined to have permanently beneficial effects upon the affairs of the Church in several directions. It decreed, amongst other things, that all church buildings and other property donated to the Church, or accruing from the collections of the faithful, become the property of the Ordinary of the diocese, save when it was shown by written documents that they belonged to the head of some religious order or congregation. Also it was enacted that no priest should marry persons already married by a non-Catholic minister or who intended to be so remarried.

The rearrangement of the episcopal sees recommended by this Council embraced far-reaching changes. For instance, it was advised or requested that New Orleans be raised to metropolitan dignity, with Mobile, Natchez, Galveston and Little Rock as suffragans; that Cincinnati be also erected into an archbishopric, with Louisville, Detroit, Cleveland and Vincennes as suffragans; that the New York see demanded a similar change, having Boston, Hartford, Albany and Buffalo; and that new sees be created in Savannah, Wheeling and St. Paul. The recently acquired territory of New Mexico, it was thought, required the appointment of an Apostolic Vicar, and a Vicar was also deemed necessary for the Indian Territory. These changes effected, the ecclesiastical province of Baltimore was narrowed down to the dioceses of Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Richmond, Wheeling, Charleston and Savannah. These were its constituent parts at the period when it came under the spiritual control of Archbishop Kenrick. Simultaneously

with the assumption of his new dignity came the further one from the Holy Father by which he was empowered to preside over a Plenary Council as Apostolic Delegate. This covered all the territory of the United States, with all its Archbishops and Bishops. In the Apostolic letter announcing the new honor Cardinal Lambruschini intimated that it was bestowed in recognition of the great zeal of the recipient, of his profound knowledge of ecclesiastical discipline, and his devotion to the Holy See as the centre of Catholic unity.

In pursuance of this exalted commission, the new Archbishop issued letters of indiction convening a Plenary Council of all the hierarchy of the States and territories for the May of 1852. Only three were unable to respond. These were the Bishop of Vincennes, who was traveling in Europe, and the Bishops of St. Paul and Milwaukee, to whom the distance of their sees made attendance an impossibility. Six Archbishops and twenty-four Bishops constituted this memorable Council, whose informal prototype, assembled in the same city forty years previously, consisted merely of the first Archbishop and his suffragans, the Bishops of Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown. Besides the episcopate, there were present at the greater Council the venerable Abbot of La Trappe, as well as the superiors of the Sulpitian and Augustinian orders, of the Dominicans and the Jesuits, of the Franciscans and the Benedictines, of the Lazarists and the Redemptorists; and along with these a numerous array of theologians and recording officials. It may easily be conceived how deep an impression the spectacle of so majestic a gathering and its cortege, with all the splendid insignia of its sacred rank, created in the minds of the people, as it moved in stately procession through streets which had never witnessed such a scene in all their years.

Solemn High Mass in the Cathedral fittingly opened the proceedings of the Council. Archbishop Kenrick was the celebrant, and to Archbishop Hughes, of New York, fell the duty of preaching the opening sermon. The formal business of the Council was transacted in private, the arrangement of details having been intrusted to six committees. As a result of the deliberations over the matters presented by the committees the Fathers arrived at twenty-five decisions whose enactment has had a permanent and ineradicable part in moulding the Church of the United States and giving it its distinctive character—not as to any questions of dogma or doctrine —for happily there was nothing of that nature to create division or call for renewed confession of faith; but as to diocesan uniformity, methods of ecclesiastical discipline, transfer of clergy, rules of procedure and official administration, and so forth. Plans for the erection of seminaries were also rough-hewn and the limits of missionary enterprise defined in a general way. The trustee evil, which though diminished had not disappeared, was also treated and legislated against. The law as to marriages of a mixed character was laid down for all the dioceses, and steps were taken to have the rights of Catholic soldiers and sailors better observed by commanders than they previously had been in either army or navy. To all these decrees the Sacred College of Propaganda gave its assent in the ensuing August, and in ratifying this the Holy Father, in response to the petition of the Council, assented to the creation of new sees at Portland, Maine; Burlington, Vermont; Brooklyn, New York; Newark, New Jersey; Erie, Pennsylvania; Covington, Kentucky; Quincy, Illinois; Santa Fé, New Mexico; as well as the elevation of the San Francisco bishopric to the arch dignity. A Vicariate Apostolic for Upper Michigan was also assented to by the Holy Father in the same decree;

and to the Sodality for the conversion of non-Catholics he sent a special indulgence by the same gracious instrument.

Amongst the early acts of importance marking Archbishop Kenrick's *régime* in Baltimore there was one that proved that in his view gratitude was a genuine virtue and not the thing which a cynic defined it to be—a lively appreciation of favors to come. The Association for the Propagation of the Faith had given the most generous aid to the nascent Church in the United States, at a time when it most needed help and encouragement. It had given money, vestments, sacred vessels and books. In grateful recognition of such generosity Archbishop Kenrick called upon the Catholic people everywhere to establish branches of the association wherever possible, in order to help the cause of the missions throughout the world.

It would be a mistake if any one were to illate from the proceedings of even great Plenary Councils that it was only necessary to deliberate and decree in order to have carried into effect all that zeal and piety deemed necessary for the due observance of what religion required and the better diffusion of its blessings. Too often are the difficulties of the case left out of sight—in the moral situation as well as the physical circumstances of the vast field of the new spiritual growth. The temper of the people, unaccustomed to the Old World habit of reverence and docility, required delicate tact to secure obedience to authority in matters of spiritual law no less than civil affairs. Democratic ways of viewing things seemed to give sanction to the belief that unbounded liberty of criticism and inference belonged to all who contributed in any degree to the general burdens, no less in Church matters than in parish or village life, and the latitude of criticism and disposition to assume direction

which has struck so many observers as the most salient feature of difference between American and European life, offered a formidable moral obstacle to the practical application of new laws to the peculiar conditions of any certain locality. We gain from the copious correspondence of Archbishop Hughes with his august friend of Philadelphia and Baltimore some notion of what such difficulties were found to be at times, as well as of his own blunt way of telling the truth.

Thus we find him writing on December, 1851, with reference to a communication from Cardinal Fransoni, on the subject of the previous Plenary Council: "There is no homogeneousness in the groundwork of circumstances in a country of such diversified origin and of such varied conditions as the United States to warrant any general legislation, especially of an authoritative character, on the subject. Every Bishop can provide for himself, and for the expense of his office, just as best he can, better than any legislation of a general character could provide for him." These conditions the Archbishop would fain hope might become favorably modified in time, so as to permit of the application of the general principle of the Church in regard to the subject touched upon by Cardinal Fransoni.

Some of the letters which passed between the two Archbishops had reference to the foundation of the American College in Rome, the necessity for which had early made itself apparent to Transatlantic visitors to the sacred city. Archbishop Kenrick was largely instrumental, under Providence, in having such an institution erected, as we find from many letters to brother prelates, and particularly to his own brother, the metropolitan of St. Louis. It was an object no less important, in his view, we may easily see, than the local seminary. The tie between Rome and home was, in his belief, something

not to be sundered by even the shears of Atropos. A letter which shows that though indifferent about himself he was jealous of the dignity of his episcopal office is one from Archbishop Hughes of the same period. The New York prelate apologizes for the error of the "Catholic Almanac" in placing the see of New York before that of Baltimore in the pages of that publication, and states that he had had a letter from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda reminding him of the priority and primacy of the Baltimore see.

It was Archbishop Kenrick who introduced into the United States the beautiful practice of the Quarant'ore. This he did in a letter to the clergy in the year 1853.

A visitation of the archdiocese was undertaken by the new Archbishop in the year following the Council; and immediately after its completion he convoked a synod of the diocesan clergy for the adoption of rules for the better ordering of local affairs and ecclesiastical practice. One of the rules adopted was that no priest was to be received into the diocese unless he had before leaving his former diocese obtained the consent of the Archbishop of Baltimore. A new arrangement of the city parishes was made, and a very important rule enacted in favor of the German population, which by that time had grown to very large proportions within the diocese. It was enacted that henceforth the Germans were to be ministered to by their own priests, and these were prohibited from administering the sacraments to people of other nationalities. The peculiar circumstances of the period, doubtless, necessitated the adoption of such a policy, but conditions have materially altered since then, and the Catholic populations have made considerable progress toward that spirit of homogeneity which is more in accordance with the claim of a common Catholicity.

A momentous addition to the spiritual potency of the archdiocese was effected in the same year, in the permanent location of the Jesuit order in the city. The cornerstone of the new church of St. Ignatius was laid by the Archbishop, with fitting solemnity, and in less than two years afterwards the famous Loyola College was opened beside it, with the tribute of a splendid inaugural address by the eminent orator, William George Read.

It was not because of any encouragement in the outside conditions that these forward steps of the Catholic body were being taken. A hostility not the less bitter because it was torpid for awhile existed among large masses of the population, and was not unknown even in the public service. This hostility was openly manifested in Baltimore, especially in regard to the direction of the public schools. These were entirely controlled by enemies of the Catholic Church, and Protestant doctrine was openly taught in them. Against this violation of public law Archbishop Kenrick was soon found remonstrating; also endeavoring to remedy the intolerable wrong of the public services, by insisting that Catholic soldiers and sailors should not be compelled to attend Protestant services, as had hitherto been the case, but ministered to by chaplains of their own faith. Recent instances of such tyranny had shocked all fair-minded people. At Hong-Kong a lieutenant named Monroe, of the warship Vincennes, had been suspended by Commander Ringgold for declining to attend Protestant service, and an officer named Schermerhorn put in irons for a similar recalcitrancy. Although such a despotism was directly at variance with both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, it was connived at or condoned under the specious pretense that it was carried out under the rules of the public service and for the enforcement of good order and discipline—just as though the State or

its servants had the power of placing themselves above that Constitution by virtue of which they both had their official existence. Temperate and logical as were the Archbishop's protests against the wrong, they failed to make any favorable impression at the time. Those then in power felt themselves in a position to defy the Constitution, in local as well as in higher affairs, owing to the vitiated state of public feeling and the insidious influence of an all-pervading system of rancorous bigotry.

The year 1854 was a memorable one in the history of the Church in the United States not less than in the Church universal. In the diocese of Baltimore it was jubilee year, and the steps taken by the Archbishop for its proper observance were the means of reclaiming many who had fallen away from the fold, and bringing in more who had been strangers to its blessings. It was the year appointed in God's providence for the proclamation of the doctrine of our Blessed Lady's exemption from the blame of fallen man. It was also destined to witness a fresh and fiercer outburst of that fanatical fury against the Church which would seem to be the inevitable corollary of every forward step taken by the spouse of Christ for the garnering of new harvests of conquest. It witnessed the departure from the United States of an exalted priest who had been the victim of ruffian violence at the hands of infidels and mobs of the Knownothing party, Mgr. Bedini, the Papal Nuncio. That eminent prelate had been two years in the United States fulfilling the mission with which he had been intrusted by the Holy See, in order that he might send in a report on the condition of Catholicism and the needs of the Church in the United States for its guidance. The country at that period swarmed with desperate revolutionists, outlaws from Italy and Germany, driven out by the failure of the various movements in Rome and Berlin

and lesser places. The violent denunciations of the Church uttered by these demagogues gained them the favor of the more foolish and fanatical among the Protestant party, and for a considerable time the world beheld the sorry spectacle of an open alliance between persons who professed to be filled with zeal for purity in religion and the blaspheming enemies of every kind of Christianity. The foul-mouthed unfrocked friar, Alessandro Gavazzi, was the stormy petrel of this ill-omened alliance. He followed the Papal Nuncio from place to place, delivering the most inflammatory harangues as he proceeded, and earning the plaudits of Knownothing mobs. At length things went so far as to culminate in a definite plot to assassinate the Nuncio, but the foul design was discovered in time to have the plan frustrated. Another attempt was made in Cincinnati, when, inflamed by the murderous incitements of a revolutionary paper, a mob of five hundred marched on the Nuncio's residence with the design to burn it down. Armed police guarded the house, however; a conflict ensued, and in the result the rioters were driven off, leaving eighteen of their number dead on the streets.

At first these outrages were confined to the foreign refugees, but, under the malign influence of Gavazzi's oratory the American or Knownothing societies soon began to bestir themselves. A horde of fluent vilifiers were hired to go out upon the streets and stir up strife. They were instructed to direct their efforts especially against the Irish Catholics, because it was cunningly calculated that the hot-blooded Celts were more likely to play into their hands by resorting to violent resentment of insult than any other class of Catholics. New Hampshire and Maine were the first States to witness the renewal of the terrible scenes of 1844. In the former State a fantastic bigot who called himself the Angel

Gabriel, and whose real name was Orr, went about the streets declaiming against priests and convents, until at length, maddened by his furious falsehoods, the mobs marched on the nearest Catholic churches and burned them to the ground. In Maine another church was similarly demolished, at the instigation of Orr, and so apathetic were the custodians of the public peace that so far from taking any steps to catch and punish the murderers and incendiaries, they were allowed to assemble next year and prevent Bishop Bacon from laying the corner-stone of a new fabric to replace that which had been destroyed. In Newark, New Jersey, an Orange mob burned down the German Catholic church without let or hindrance. In Louisville, Kentucky, frantic mobs attacked the Catholic residents, not only in the street but in their homes. The houses that sheltered them were fired and the inmates shot down as they endeavored to escape from the flames. Twenty persons lost their lives thus, either by the bullet or by fire, and were it not for the courage and coolness of men like Benjamin Webb, as well as the Catholic German population, there must have been far more lamentable consequences in Kentucky State during this period of terror, when Government appeared to have abdicated its functions or gone over to the side of bigotry and murder.

In the State of Maine, at a place called Ellsworth, an outrage such as only savages might be deemed capable of committing was perpetrated against a most holy and courageous Jesuit priest, the Rev. J. Bapst. While he was engaged in hearing confessions a gang of miscreants contrived to steal into the place, and having seized the priest, they dragged him outside, stripped him of his clothing, tied him to a rail, covered him then with hot tar and a coating of feathers, and, amid jeers and insults, carried him outside the town and left him lying bound

and in agony in a ditch. Another Jesuit, the Rev. Eugene Vetromile, shortly afterward went to help him in the mission, after his recovery, and narrowly escaped the same fate. He took the precaution of adopting a disguise, however, and so baffled the miscreants who lay in wait for him. But, having seen the tar and feathers which they had had prepared for his reception, he was determined to turn the tables on the ruffian leaders, and so got together about a hundred good Irishmen, as he afterward told a friend, and when the mob came to attack him they got such a hot reception that they took to flight, glad to get away from the place with whole skins.

Such were the auspices amidst which the glorious dogma of the Immaculate Conception was blazoned forth upon the Western sky, in that memorable year. Must it not seem as though the raging of demons as depicted by the poet in the "Golden Legend," beat against the belfries and spent its fury against the persons of the saintliest men in the Church?

The question of the Pope's Temporal Power, raised by the attacks upon it by the Italian revolutionists, was a fruitful subject of discussion in many quarters throughout the United States. It often became necessary for Archbishop Kenrick to refute assertions regarding Catholic belief on the questions in order to clear the subject from the cobwebs of artful sophistry which wilful maligners had spun around it for the dishonest purpose of testing Catholic loyalty in countries outside Italy by Catholic sentiments regarding the Pope's temporal sovereignty. In his own simply lucid way the learned prelate defines the true Catholic position at the opening of the second part of his great work on "The Primacy." "The primacy," he lays down, "is essentially a spiritual office, which has not, of divine right, any temporal appendage." This is his first proposition on the subject,

and it is not qualified by the succeeding review of the history of how the patrimony of St. Peter came to be an appanage of the spiritual power, but rather strengthened by the reflections which follow on the origin of this spiritual primacy. Christ, we are reminded, in making Peter the ruler of His Kingdom, gave him neither dominion nor wealth, nor any of the appendages of royalty. As the Master had not even so much as a place whereon to lay His head, so the disciple was unprovided with any worldly possession; gold and silver had he none; but he was given supernatural powers for the government of the Church and the salvation of men. Yet, in the Providential evolution of events, the Archbishop goes on to point out, the Patrimony of Peter became an appanage of the Church, and as such existed by the same law of human right as the possessions of every other State or individual; and the allegiance of citizens of the Roman States rested, in the civil order, on precisely the same foundations as those of the population of all other civilized States toward their proper governments. But outside the Roman States, as the Archbishop strongly emphasizes, there is no bond between the Sovereign Pontiff and his flock but the spiritual one. The Catholic world is interested in the temporal power as far as it is necessary for the free discharge of the Pope's spiritual duties, as is the case in our day.

In later years, when first the red cloud of civil war appeared on the American horizon, the task of men like Archbishop Kenrick became extremely difficult. It was quite usual for fanatical opponents, even when they were not members of the Knownothing party, to taunt them with disloyalty to the Union and a leaning toward slavery because of their spiritual affiliation with Rome. Catholics, it was again and again asseverated, were not, nor could they be, loyal to the Republic; their

allegiance was elsewhere. The mode of warfare practised by the enemies of Catholicism, at this time of excitement and danger, was peculiar, in that it was elusive and invulnerable to ordinary weapons of resistance. An adversary's testimony was quoted, for instance, for the purpose of strengthening the main attack upon him and his co-religionists, and then when it was shown that other clauses of the same testimony refuted the accuser's propositions, it was triumphantly pointed out that under the "Popish" system of mental reservation as a lawful expedient under certain conditions, this portion of such testimony must be rejected as worthless because tainted. A striking instance of this double-edged action of the controversial sword is seen in the case of a writer named R. W. Thompson, who, after the Archbishop's death, quoted his declarations on the Primacy as given above, and then triumphantly quoted—but incorrectly, by omitting a word which changes the whole sense of the quotation—from Pope Innocent IX. on the subject of mental reservations. It is clearly a waste of time and energy to attempt a logomachy with combatants who fight with such panoply as a bath in the Styx of resourceful mendacity may be supposed to confer. When even a statesman occupying the high moral plane of the late Mr. Gladstone did not hesitate to maintain the same invidious position with regard to the civil allegiance of Catholics, in his chagrin at being thwarted in his education policy by the Irish Bishops, we need not marvel that the lesser and more ignorant class of essayists resort to it in periods which they think favorable for the transformation of passive prejudice into active rancor and translating the word of hate into the deed of violence. We have not in every age, unhappily, a Newman to find out the *tendon Achillei* in the panoply of the elusive combatant who relies on his supernatural equipment, like the deluded

Thane of Cawdor, to bear him unscathed through the perils of real conflict.

We live in a fairer atmosphere, fortunately, in these days. Neither the American Government nor the mass of the American people now believe that when the Bishops of the Catholic Church take the oath of spiritual allegiance to the Vicar of Christ, who is in Rome, as altered by desire of the sixth Council of Baltimore, they mean or imagine the slightest mental reservation. Archbishop Kenrick exactly defined the position as between the American Hierarchy and the Holy See, in his chapter of "The Primacy" dealing with the distinction between the Pope's spiritual and temporal authority: "It is a stale calumny that Catholics are vassals or subjects of the Pope. He claims no temporal dominion over us, and we everywhere profess, with his full knowledge and entire approbation, unqualified allegiance to the respective civil governments under which we live."

Periods of war, however—and more especially of civil war— are times most favorable to misconstruction by one party or the other of every word or act spoken or done with the beneficent purpose of putting an end to the work of hate and savagery. Even the most clear-thinking and phlegmatic appear to lose the full command of their reasoning powers and to succumb to the dread influences of revenge and the spirit of slaughter and destruction. These influences were particularly potent at the period of the civil war, and on a public mind inflamed to the most delicate sensitiveness by the fever of conflict the slightest incident which could be distorted, by the arts of enemies or the morbid imagination of partisans, into indications of a leaning toward either side by those who were placed in a neutral position was sure to be turned to evil account. Thus it came that the amiable efforts of the benign Pope, Pius IX., to throw oil on the

troubled waters of the civil war were utilized for the purpose of discrediting the position taken up by Catholics when their allegiance was openly challenged. Men who did not hesitate to exhibit their sympathy by word and deed with the emissaries who were engaged in the effort to foment rebellion in the Papal States were loud in their objurgation of such American Catholics as did not show that eagerness in the prosecution of civil bloodshed as these partisans believed they should. It did not matter that thousands of Catholics were laying down their lives in defense of the principle of loyalty to the Union; the fact that individual Catholics, in many places, adopted a less bold attitude gave such mischief-makers the opportunity of making the lives of all such Catholics the most unpleasant that malice and misrepresentation can contrive for the innocent.

The opinions of Francis Patrick Kenrick on the prerogatives of the Holy See and its teaching function are clearly set forth in two works of acknowledged authority, viz., his famous "Theologia Dogmatica" and his great historical disquisition, "The Primacy of Peter." Although he was not permitted to see the days of the Vatican Council, his voice may fairly be claimed as one of those from the tomb of the recently dead, since his views, as set forth in these two unimpeachable treatises, are unequivocally on the side of those who claimed for the Sovereign Pontiff the attribute of official infallibility in the delivery of his *ex cathedra* decisions on the great dogmatic questions which come within its sphere. What is there stated in a precise Latin form is set forth in freer style in the work on "The Primacy," in the chapter on "Papal Prerogatives:"

"The primacy extends to the whole world, since the commission given to the Apostles is to teach all nations and preach the Gospel to every creature; but none are

subject to it who have not by baptism entered within the pale of the Church. . . . In virtue of his office the Pontiff teaches with authority, and directs his teaching to all the children of the Church, wherever they may be found, pastors and people. . . . The chief Bishop is 'the natural organ of the Church,' as Peter is styled by St. Chrysostom the mouth of the Apostles. In pronouncing judgment he does not give expression to a private opinion, or follow his own conjectures; but he takes for his rule the public and general faith and tradition of the Church, as gathered from Scripture, the Fathers, the liturgies, and other documents; imploring the guidance of the Divine Spirit, and using all human means for ascertaining the fact of revelation. . . . His official infallibility, *ex cathedra*, is strongly affirmed by St. Alphonsus de Liguori and a host of divines, in accordance, as I believe, with ancient tradition and the general sentiment of the Church. . . . The authority of the Pope in matters of faith appeared most conspicuously in the fourth and fifth centuries. The decrees of Damasus and Innocent, and the doctrinal letters of Celestine and Leo, were correct expositions of the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation. . . . The plenitude of pontifical power, in all that appertains to the government of the Universal Church, is affirmed in the Florentine decree. . . . It was not the learning or the wisdom of individual Pontiffs that enabled them to steer the vessel of the Church through rocks and shoals, on which the wisest and most learned men had made shipwreck; it was the overruling providence of God which directed their judgment."

Again, in the course of his controversial letters to Bishop Hopkins, he puts the case in a still more emphatic way:

"***Personal*** infallibility, in his individual character, is

claimed for him" (the Pope) "by none; since the canons provide for the contingency of his falling into heresy. Official infallibility, if I may so call the certainty of the truth which the Pontiff teaches as visible head of the Church, in union with his colleagues in the episcopacy, is admitted by all. The only question in dispute is whether his solemn judgments on doctrine can be deemed final before the assent and acceptance of the episcopal body; and this scholastic discussion does not render the decision nugatory, since when thus solemnly pronounced the concurrence of his colleagues is soon ascertained."

In coming to this conclusion the learned theologian did not overlook the argument from the negative side. He calls up and analyzes the hypothetical propositions of Bellarmine endeavoring to show that the claim of infallibility extended to doctrines concerning morals, since the contrary proposition might find the Church, in case the Pope should err in commanding vice or forbidding virtue, bound to believe that vice was good and virtue evil unless she chose to sin against conscience in the matter of obedience to the Head of the Church. Dr. Kenrick clearly saw what was the weak point in the objections to this proposition—the assumption that there was no safeguard against such error on the part of a Pope as would lead him into putting vice forward as virtue. In the individual conscience he discerned one safeguard. "The Pope only addresses conscience: his laws and censures are only powerful inasmuch as they are acknowledged to be passed under a Divine sanction." Besides, answering De Maistre's question, "What can restrain the Pope?" he answers, there are "canons, laws, national usages, sovereigns, tribunals, national assemblies, prescriptions, representations, negotiations, duty, fear, prudence, and especially public opinion, the queen of the world."

These things were written by Bishop Kenrick so far

back as the year 1837. It is impossible to avoid being impressed by the close resemblance they bore to the course of argument on the dogma of Papal Infallibility—which was evolved more than thirty years later from the travail of perplexed times and the pressure of irresistible necessity.

CHAPTER X.

NOTABLE AND TALENTED CONVERTS—PROBLEM HOW TO EMPLOY THEM—A WAVE OF REVOLUTIONARY HATE AND MURDER—ATTACK ON THE PAPAL NUNCIO—FEARFUL SCENES IN CINCINNATI—ARCHBISHOP PURCELL'S DANGER—SHADOWS OF THE CIVIL WAR—TROUBLOUS TIMES FOR CATHOLICS—THE ARCHBISHOP'S PRUDENCE.

Among the many distinguished conversions made by Archbishop Kenrick, the case of Professor Haldeman seems to be somewhat peculiar. This gentleman was at the head of the Museum of Natural History in Philadelphia, and when he applied to the Bishop of the diocese for instruction he was asked what reason induced him to seek the Church. The answer he is said to have made was singular. He said simply, "Bugs," and when asked to explain this enigmatical word—so the story goes—he replied that it was from the study of orderly economy in the insect world that he became convinced of the Divine ordering of everything in creation, and also in the Church which He founded. If this conversation really took place, the Archbishop himself makes no mention of it. In his letters to his brother he tells of the reception of the Professor and his wife, and their daughter, Mrs. Wentz, into the Church, but there is no allusion to the entomological anecdote. This, however, is no proof that it is not true.

Dr. Ives had been for many years the Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina. His renunciation of this honor was made under very striking circumstances. He went to Rome, sought an audience with the illustrious Pius IX., and laid his episcopal ring and the other in-

signia of his office, according to the Protestant usage, at the feet of the ruler of the Catholic world. There is good reason to believe that this dramatic incident served to inflame the bigotry of the time, as it soon afterward broke out in murderous fury. The immediate spark which fired the magazine, however, was the arrival of the Papal Nuncio to Brazil, Cajetan Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes. On his way to South America this distinguished prelate landed in New York, and received a cordial welcome from a host of distinguished people, Catholic and non-Catholic. Before setting out from Rome the Nuncio had been given a letter from the American Minister in Rome (Mr. Cass) explaining, for the information of the President, the nature of his mission and testifying to his exalted character and abilities. Desirous of seeing something of this new world so full of interesting peoples and institutions, the Archbishop made a tour of the principal cities, and after traversing the North and the West, paid a visit to the national capital, where he was courteously received by the President, Mr. Franklin Pierce. Although the President was friendly, it was not so with the Secretary of State, Mr. Marcy. This official at once interfered, with a view to prevent any further *rapprochement* between the Holy See and the Republic, and owing to his mischievous hostility, the Administration ultimately decided not to recognize the Nuncio as a member of the diplomatic body, as his rank and his previous experience in delicate international problems most undoubtedly qualified him to be. Then he returned to New York, at the invitation of the Mayor, and was most hospitably entertained as the city's guest. While there it was his pleasing duty to contribute to the great growth of Catholicity in the States by consecrating three new Bishops—viz., those of Brooklyn, Newark and Burlington—on 30 October, 1853.

But these auspicious functions by no means indicated the general character of the Nuncio's reception in the United States. Like an ominous shadow the wretched ex-priest and Italian revolutionist, Alessandro Gavazzi, followed his footsteps around the country and sought to inflame popular passion by every vile means known to those who become renegade to their faith and their vows and have no means of livelihood but their powers of vituperation. Of all this ill-omened band—and they were several—Gavazzi was probably the worst. It has been the writer's lot to witness the effect of his poisonous diatribes in several cities. Wherever he went riot and tumult followed in his wake, and it required the utmost efforts of the municipal authorities to check the murderous fury of the mobs which listened to him, no less than the violent indignation of the Catholics at the hideous slanders which flowed from his lips in a constant stream. Gavazzi was aided in his fell work by a couple of revolutionary organizations—Italian and German. The Italians had been banished from Italy as dangerous revolutionists—men who followed the teachings of Mazzini. Banishment did not serve to cool their desperate ardor. They did not hesitate to abuse the hospitality of the United States by openly preaching their terrible doctrine of the dagger. The discovery of a plot to assassinate the Nuncio in New York revealed the length to which they were prepared to carry their own teachings; nor did their hope of effecting this object die out with the nipping of the conspiracy. They called to their aid a different organization, a society of German infidels. This cult was strong in Cincinnati, where it had a newspaper devoted to the propagation of its tenets. Archbishop Bedini, it was known, was about to visit that city, and immediately the atheistical organ set to work to inflame the revolutionary spirit against him.

It is difficult, in these "piping times of peace," to realize what pandemonium reigned in those terrible days when fanaticism tried to let loose the dogs of war. The best means to impart an idea of their effect and spirit would be, perhaps, to reproduce the mass of letters from Archbishop Purcell to Archbishop Kenrick, describing the state of Cincinnati at the time and asking the advice as well as the prayers of his brother prelate. The Ohio Archbishop in more than one place tells of the constant danger of assassination and the many dreadful threats made against him, both in public placards and in private letters. The organ of the German infidels openly counselled murder. It hurled the vilest epithets at the Papal Nuncio; it stigmatized him as a "human butcher," the "bloodhound of Bologna," a "hyena;" and it asked was there "no ball, no dagger for a monster never equaled on earth?" This frantic appeal did not remain unanswered for long. The very same evening an attack was made on the Archbishop's residence, where for the time the Nuncio was lodged, by a force of about five hundred of the infidel organization. But, anticipating such an outcome, the Archbishop had stirred the civic authorities to action for the public safety. The mob found the house protected by a strong force of armed police. This did not deter them from violence; they advanced with the determination to carry out their fell purpose; a conflict took place, a volley was fired, and eighteen of the rioters fell dead or wounded. Then the mob broke and fled, but not before about a hundred of their number were captured by the guardians of the peace.

Even a lesson so terrible as this hardly availed to put an end to the fell spirit of infidel violence. Although no further attempt at organized riot was made, murder lurked at the street corners waiting its opportunity.

Archbishop Purcell's letters tell how he had averted the assassin stroke aimed at the Nuncio by interposing his own person between him and the assailant. Yet it would seem Archbishop Purcell thought the Nuncio was not over grateful, since in another letter he sorrowfully tells how he incurred blame for exposing him to danger. Gladly, he says, he would have laid down his life to shield him—gladly accepted the martyr's crown. He had made every preparation for such a climax to his career. One of his letters reveals the dispositions he had made in regard to his goods and chattels and trusts, and encloses, for the information of his friend in Baltimore, a copy of the instructions he had had drawn up for the intended executors.

The extraordinary outburst against the Nuncio was not, of course, either spontaneous or causeless. As no one becomes wholly wicked all at once or without evil prompting, so even with infidels and revolutionists. To the inventive power of the apostate Gavazzi, and the more violent of the Italian revolutionary band, was afterwards traced the responsibility for the bloodshed and turmoil which followed the path of the Nuncio in the United States. He had been Commissary of the Legations during the Austrian occupation in Italy, and while thus engaged a revolutionary priest named Bassi, who had joined the Garibaldians as a combatant, had been captured by the Austrians, court-martialed and shot. Authority over him, or aught to do with his trial, Bedini had none whatever. He was then neither Commissary nor Bishop, but a simple priest. But the fact that he was in Bologna at the time of the trial and execution was enough for the purpose of Gavazzi and his rabble. They concocted the hideous calumny that Bassi had been tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal, under the direction of Bedini, and not only condemned to death, but flayed

alive as a preliminary! Hence the ferocity of the epithets with which the Nuncio found himself assailed in Cincinnati, and the nightly parades of masqueraders, bearing a gallows and halters and lanterns showing death's heads and ghastly inscriptions which intimated what the mob intended for him in case they got him in their power.

It was no wonder that Archbishop Purcell entertained a lively apprehension of apostate and refractory priests. They had been the bane of the Church in many lands; they had almost caused a schism in the United States. More than one diocese had been riven and transformed into a theatre of indifference and ultimate lack of faith altogether, on the part of many, because of the headstrong folly and self-importance of this nefarious class of clerics. Archbishop Purcell feared the effect likely to be produced on converts were they to know how wide was the wound made by these intractable spirits in the body of the immature American Church. Is it possible, he is found asking Archbishop Kenrick, that it is contemplated to admit converts like Dr. Ives and Dr. Huntington—as it had been rumored it was—"within the sanctuary"—to learn how much we suffer from the disreputable element among our clergy? Cincinnati must have been in a particularly bad strait at the time, owing to this mildew; perhaps the good Archbishop had not the genius of Archbishop Kenrick, or his *aplomb*, for dealing with turbulent spirits. He appears to have had far more of the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* than his more fortunate fellow-prelate, whose imperturbability in dealing with riot and schism had been so strikingly manifested in times that resembled the early days of chaos in the incipient ecclesiastical system.

The anxiety of Archbishop Purcell over these matters was not by any means groundless. It was becoming a

very serious question in the Church, so many were the accessions from the ranks of the Protestant clergy as a consequence of the Oxford movement. The fact that as a rule these converts were in the married state, and had families in many cases, made the question of providing for their maintenance one of extreme gravity. To open an avenue of employment for such, within the Church, appeared to some minds not altogether impracticable. In Bishop Spalding's correspondence the proposition is seriously debated that these converts should be ordained lectors, to give catechetical instruction and superintend parochial and Sunday schools, and receive regular salary for such work. It was even debated whether they could not be admitted to all the minor orders. There were many who keenly sympathized with those converts in their dependent position, realizing how they themselves must have felt the humiliation, but forgetting that so great a spiritual gain as they had found was not to be achieved without sacrifice, and that it was in sacrifice the foundation of the Church was laid. But after a little reflection the alarm excited over these propositions and surmises abated. Those who at first saw the possibility of a modification of the Church's ordinances in favor of the converts soon found that they labored under a serious misconception of the mind of the authorities: discipline and doctrine stand on almost the same historic plane in a system which has slowly sprung from the concurrent development of both. In the alarm which filled the mind of the good Cincinnati prelate, however, and the ingenuous terms in which it was expressed there is an element at once useful and interesting. We get a glimpse of the trouble which menaced most seriously the immature Church—the decay from within, and in reflecting on the brighter conditions which prevail in the same Church to-day, we may perhaps recognize

the meed of praise which is due to the surgery displayed by such physicians as Archbishop Kenrick in the removal of the festering cancers which at that time threatened the very existence of the Church, and did in fact involve it in schism, disloyalty and disedification.

What to do with his converts was at times a very distressing problem with Archbishop Kenrick. Some of the more distinguished of these—men like Dr. Ives and Dr. Huntington—when they quitted the Protestant ministry could not enter the Catholic priesthood because they were married; yet it was necessary that something should be done to enable them to earn a livelihood. There is a great pile of letters from Dr. Huntington amongst the Archbishop's papers. In these it is shown how steadily he endeavored to sustain the distinguished convert by procuring literary work for him in various quarters and by direct help. It is also seen how highly he valued Dr. Huntington's opinion on various nice points of scholarship and theology, since many references are found to chapters submitted to his judgment in the various works published by the Archbishop. This correspondence with Dr. Huntington forms, together with that of the Allen family, the largest collection in the Kenrick remains, so far as the lay world is concerned. In the ecclesiastical domain, the pile of letters from the late Cardinal Cullen, with whom Archbishop Kenrick had been for many years on the most intimate terms, appears to be the most voluminous. Through this medium the Archbishop was enabled to keep himself constantly in touch with the trend of events in Rome as well as in Ireland. Next to this in point of importance, and larger even in bulk, is that of the late Archbishop Purcell, who for many years looked to the Baltimore prelate for advice in almost every transaction in which he was engaged. Whether he was so diligent in acting

on it or not is quite another matter; but the strong probability is that if he had been guided by the sage and conservative example of Archbishop Kenrick, the devoted but very impulsive prelate of Cincinnati would have avoided that sea of troubles into which his good-natured desire to help others eventually led him.

But it was not merely, in that day, a question of ways and means whereby converts should be preserved from destitution; the position of many dioceses was no less painful because of the paucity of the Catholic population as well as their poverty. We find a vivid and at the same time saddening glimpse of this situation in one of the letters of Bishop Reynolds, of Charleston, to Archbishop Kenrick about this time. Speaking of the proposed fund for Dr. Ives and Dr. Huntington, he declares that he himself has no income whatever as Bishop. The pew-rents, he adds, were barely sufficient to support his priests. What the good prelate did for food and raiment and lodging for himself we are left to guess. Nor was he the only prelate of his day who was obliged to study the fine art of the gentleman whom a great English novelist depicts—"how to live on nothing a year" and at the same time cut a good figure in society. How they did it, and what they must have had to endure at times, when there was no manna from heaven, in the shape of delicate observant friendship, keen to note the unconfessed privation of the suffering hidden under the mask of serenity and cheerfulness, never can be known this side of the grave. "Silver and gold have I none," they might well say with the Apostle at the Beautiful Gate: but He who feeds the ravens looked after these penniless ministers of His in His own wise way.

Perhaps the best idea of the part Dr. Kenrick's personality played in the making of converts may be found in the letters of some of those, as they are preserved in the

archives of the Baltimore diocese. Especially suggestive are those from the family of Professor Allen, of Pennsylvania University. Many are from the ladies of this family—gentlewomen of the highest refinement and sensibility. All the members, male and female, appear to have held the Archbishop in not merely the esteem of a revered pastor and spiritual guide, but a friend most endeared to them by tenderest ties. Their letters breathe of this feeling—such a one as we are taught to believe existed among the early Christians, engendered by their realization of that fraternity in Christ which is the source of the holiest joy and charity in friendship. And yet there is not the least trace of that tendency which is known as pietism about those ingenuous communications. They treat of spiritual influences at times, no doubt, but they reflect the human side of life as subjected to the calm, benignant light of inward grace, and as a thing worthy of the free communion and the mutual sympathy of hearts in accord on the sublime things of faith and hope. The personality which could awaken such friendships and inspire so beautiful a sympathy in the work of life must have had something of the irresistible force of sweetness which made the saints of old subdue even savage beasts.

The storm which had long been menacing the country's peace was now beginning to mass its forces for an outburst. It was a most anxious period for the Church, both in the North and in the South. Every eye was turned on Archbishop Kenrick in that period of uncertainty and vague dread; he was looked to as the centre of illumination. Questions relating directly or indirectly to the one absorbing topic were addressed to him by prelates and clergy, all perplexed how to act consistently with their consciences and the welfare of the Church. It may be doubtful whether, since the days of Solomon,

any such trying problems ever demanded solution as in this crisis. The Archbishop bore himself so as to elicit the admiration of all. He gave no offense to any side: he simply acted as the minister of religion whose charity was due alike to foe and friend and whose sole object should be to hasten the work of peace by every means that seemed available to that end.

Still, the embarrassments of the Archbishop's position began to crowd in thick and fast. He was placed between two fires, figuratively speaking, while, owing to his own position as head of a border-state diocese, he was perforce obliged to adopt a position of watchful circumspection. Southern sympathizers were numerous in Maryland; Unionist adherents were keeping eye on these; the whole atmosphere was charged with suspicion and inflammable jealousy, ready to burst at any moment into a destructive conflagration. The distractions of the hour were augmented by the conflict of views *pro* and *con.* regarding the morality of slavery. Not a few of the Bishops and clergy of the South maintained that it was lawful and on moral grounds defensible. Amongst the Archbishop's correspondence we find reference to a pamphlet of Bishop Verot's in defense of slavery; also a long letter from a priest in the West Indies to the same effect, in which the writer states that he had offered to pay for a slave's liberty there, but the man had refused, saying he had too good a master.

Under date of April 28, 1861, Bishop Whelan, of Wheeling, wrote to the Archbishop complaining bitterly of the action of certain Northern prelates in allowing party sermons and permitting the display of flags in churches. Unless the churches were kept neutral, he pointed out, the victorious party on either side would find a good pretext for their destruction. The writer expressed his approval of the peace movement on the part of the hierarchy.

In a subsequent letter from Bishop Whelan it is seen that he had learned from the Archbishop of a rumor that an order had been issued for his (the Bishop's) arrest. The Archbishop advised him that he ought to be temperate in his expression of views. To this the Bishop replied that he had never said or done anything to warrant arrest; that he had been circumspect, and had only spoken in private, and had never counselled resistance to the Government. In this correspondence we find proof that even the office of a Bishop did not insure immunity from the general system of espionage prevalent in those calamitous days of mutual suspicion and selfish greed of the informer's guerdon.

During the same month the Bishop of Pittsburg (Dr. O'Connor) gave expression to his apprehensions of danger to the Church over the war. He told of his having raised the flag over the Cathedral, and of a speech which he had delivered to the "committee of fifty" having been misreported, even by the Catholic papers. He hated, the Bishop added, to take any part in politics, but the interests of the Church made it absolutely essential to do something to avert hostility. Later on, in May, he is found writing to say that his words had had a good effect in allaying hostility and disarming bigotry; even some had gone so far as to apologize for what they had previously said and to ask pardon. To the Bishop it seemed a providential arrangement that Archbishop Kenrick should be at the head of affairs at that critical juncture for troubled dioceses, and the force of the remark is easily apparent. "Where the troubles were the thickest," he wrote, "it appears Providence made choice of you to be there. As it was when you were in Philadelphia, so it is now in Baltimore."

In that hour of grievous trial the task of the American Bishops was rendered well nigh impossible of fulfilment by reason of the partisan action of the Catholic press.

A deadly feud sprang up between *Brownson's Review* and the New York *Freeman's Journal* over the attitude of the Catholic population toward the question of slavery and the cause of secession. Even the well-meant efforts of Pope Pius IX. to avert war and compose the seething elements of coming trouble were slighted and almost satirized by Brownson, and His Holiness was told in effect, by the *Review*, that he had better set his own house in order before attempting to counsel peace in the States, at the expense of principle; the "non possumus" which he had given for answer when the demand was made for the surrender of his temporal sovereignty was also the answer of the United States when national dismemberment was the proposal to be considered. The Pope did nothing more than advise the whole American hierarchy to do all in their power to bring about the restoration of peace; yet the bitterness of sectionalism could see nothing in this humane and paternal act but an advice to surrender to the demand of the secessionists. If laws are compelled to be silent during war, the bitter experience of the Civil War in the United States would cause men who wisely love their country and recognize that a condition of peace is the truest blessing to wish that the press could also be brought under the same rule. Brownson's attacks upon the Catholicity of the Irish and their loyalty to the Union did incalculable damage in these deplorable years, and were the fruitful source of trouble in many dioceses. It was little wonder that he was distrusted and that the subscriptions to his *Review* during the war period fell away by two-thirds. The office of candid friend is never either grateful or profitable to any party. His attacks upon the loyalty of the Jesuit order proved equally embarrassing, and no less injurious to his own reputation. He himself, in his calmer hours, bitterly regretted he had ever published them.

CHAPTER XI.

FATHER SORIN ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN—THE LIBERALISTIC MOVEMENT—FATHER HECKER—DR. BROWNSON—MELANCHOLY EFFECT OF THE WAR ON THE ARCHBISHOP'S SPIRIT—THE HORROR OF GETTYSBURG OVERPOWERING—THE ARCHBISHOP SUCCUMBS—A PEACEFUL DEATH.

When it was resolved by the Baltimore Council to place the country under the patronage of the Immaculate Mother of God, it had not been, perhaps, anticipated what results might flow from this touching tribute to our Blessed Lady. Bishop Kenrick had from his early years been a devoted client of hers. It is not often that Catholics reflect seriously upon the full meaning of this formal recognition of the honor and influence of the Blessed Mother. It is only those who have had practical experience of the power which the cult of that exalted Mediatrix has always exerted that can fully appreciate its efficacy. There are some thoughts the very entertaining of which is in itself a blessing, as the entrance of the bright and innocent of heart brings immediate sunshine into the gloomiest circle. Wonders have been wrought by the mere gazing on some beautiful picture or statue of the Blessed Virgin. It is given even to the painter or the sculptor who has taken her exquisite life as the inspiration for his ideal of her face and form, on canvas or in marble, to melt the hearts of the indifferent or the scoffing and stir depths of reverence and love that had lain there unsuspected for years. Father Sorin, the founder of Notre Dame University, tells in a letter to Dr. Brownson that the beau-

tiful statue of the Blessed Mother, erected over the dome of the new college, was doing wonders in stirring the piety of its four hundred students, and anticipated that if the American people could be only once got to understand that the Virgin was really the Mother of God, and not merely, as the greater number regard her, the Mother of Christ, the gain for purer living would be enormous. Once an American convert grasps this truth, he goes on to declare, the result is such a devotion in the heart of the recently converted as made him (the writer) even ashamed of the comparative coldness of his own love for that glorious creature. Hence the importance of the action of the Council in placing the whole country under her powerful protection and invoking her patronage. It was a step which could not fail in having the most far-reaching consequences, and we may never know how much influence it may have had on the marvelous progress which we have witnessed even in our own generation in the extension of the Church and the growth of her institutions of benevolence all over the country.

Although frequent reference is made in the Kenrick correspondence to the Liberalistic movement as conceived by Hecker and other believers in conciliating the "spirit of the age," the subject does not seem to have engaged much of Archbishop Kenrick's thought. At the same time he was by no means unfriendly to Father Hecker or uninterested in the work of the Paulists. But regarding the transient wave of "Liberalism," he either did not attach any importance to it, or else he was too deeply engrossed in the more pressing questions which demanded immediate solution at his hands, because of the growing troubles of the country. This is to be regretted, inasmuch as that movement might not have made the headway that it did, under the mistaken

logic of Brownson, had he been able to throw his keen sword of debate into the scale. As it was, the false teachings of Gioberti, whose influence was only too apparent in Brownson's pleadings, were allowed to gain an unsuspected hold on many minds until they began to assume the form of action. It was at this juncture that the Holy See felt bound to formulate the position of the Church in terms which admitted of no mistake. The syllabus of errors which it condemned put a quietus on the pretense that the end of conciliating non-Catholic sentiment would justify the means of minimizing the claims of Catholicity, or its presentation shorn of those strong lineaments of truth which adversaries have exaggerated into the features of an intellectual tyranny and a sway incompatible with reason and rational service. This settled the question here, and Brownson's position became so untenable that he wisely determined to drop from his *Review* all further discussion on the subject and devote its pages to matters of more immediate and more practical concern.

The disposition to concede something to the "spirit of the age" is by no means peculiar to those who in our own time become converts to Catholic doctrine. These have good reason to estimate rightly the formidable difficulties which present themselves to the non-Catholic mind when considering the principles to which they must give assent ere they can join the fold of the true. On their part, Catholics often fail to realize the grave character of these difficulties. They argue, quite reasonably, that if a non-Catholic can form any genuine conception of the supernatural in religion, he is not called on for greater effort of reason than an extension of such a concept and its principles, in different lines, in order to grasp the truths which the Catholic Church offers to his understanding. When he once admits the supernatural origin

of Christianity, he ought to have no trouble in believing that this supernatural element did not cease its operation with the termination of its divine Founder's earthly mission, but must be still the vitalizing power in the action of the Church which He founded, or in admitting that that Church is the depository of authority. It is on these points that the intellect of Protestantism chiefly refuses to answer the purpose for which intellect was given to man. Logic is denied its lawful conclusion; the obstinacy of human pride is mistaken for the firmness of a clear understanding that perceives in the claim to authority only a specious attempt to establish over the souls of mankind a universal and unlimited dominion which would be fatal to all inquiry and destructive of sound philosophy. We find this intellectual pride often asserting itself even after the conversion of brilliant men: their course for years after is often a source of anxiety and perplexity to their watchful friends: the old leaven of doubt and the tendency to question and mayhap to carp often proves irrepressible. To find such minds favoring a letting down of the barriers of the Church is not, therefore, to be wondered at. It may be from a perfectly sincere desire and belief to extend the realm of the Church that it is manifested; or it may be from the inability to grasp the inner mysteries comprehensible easily to those who have been born and bred in the faith; or it may be that God has not seen fit to bestow His most precious gift because of a lack of trust or earnestness on the part of the petitioner.

We may yet be permitted to conjecture that the revival of this movement to conciliate "the spirit of the age" did not escape the attention of Archbishop Kenrick, although we do not find him taking any active part in the discussion over it: his mind was evidently preoccupied with tthe larger problems that began to loom up almost coincidently with the beginnings of the con-

troversy. In his earlier days he had been confronted with the false philosophy to which Liberalism really bows when it pleads for a minimizing of beliefs. The revolt against the scholastic philosophy had produced the reaction of infidelity: all the literature of the day was infested with the new spirit of a materialism which has changed the belief of man and menaces the whole social system. Archbishop Kenrick attributed the revolt to the excessive value that was placed by the early schools on the teachings of the peripatetic philosopher, even despite the safeguards provided in the Commentaries by St. Thomas. Aristotle still influenced the mind and the imagination of the student world until he showed as an oracle or a sort of inspired pre-Christian prophet. The blind subserviency and submission which this tendency after a time involved had its natural result, if we take into consideration the incessant action and counteraction of the human mind, in the denial both of revelation, inspiration and authority, and the acceptance of the mechanical naturalism of Descartes.

It was the aim of Archbishop Kenrick, in his earlier writings, such as his great work on the "Primacy," to show that if the true end of philosophical systems be not the impetus to continual successions of speculations on the origin of the universe and the relations of metaphysics to the mind, but the betterment of the human race both in its spiritual and its mundane needs, that end is achieved by the Catholic Church, when its action is free and unobstructed, in every succeeding age, to an extent impossible to any power of merely secular origin. The Church deals with life, he showed, not with theories. It grasps the problems of life, and propounds an equitable system which would make the wheels of the world run smoothly because they would be oiled with the lubricant of justice; while all the needs of mind and soul must

find repletion in the treasures of light and grace which she offers to the sincere and whole-souled seeker after truth. Speaking on this theme, he says:

"Whatever may be thought of the philosophy of the Middle Ages, we must not forget that the great science of legislation, both ecclesiastical and civil, was then effectually cultivated and promoted. The Popes, by their decrees on various cases submitted to their judgment, and the Councils of Bishops, combining their wisdom to remedy prevailing disorders and promote piety, had gradually formed a vast code of laws, of which collections had been made by various persons in the East and West; but it was reserved to Gratian, a Benedictine monk, in the middle of the twelfth century, to classify them and adapt them to the use of students. This *Decree of Gratian*, as it has been rather strangely styled, was designed especially for the University of Bologna, to which the Popes likewise were thenceforward accustomed to address the subsequent collections. Those only who are unacquainted with the Canon Law, as the ecclesiastical code is styled, can speak disparagingly of it. The Scripture is its great foundation; the Fathers of the Church have furnished many of its axioms, and its rules are the fruit of the experience of ages. It combines persuasion with authority, equity with law, and a due regard for forms with an inviolable respect for justice and right. It throws its shield over the humblest individuals, and bears aloft its mace to awe the proud. It tempers the exercise of power by the spirit of charity, sustains dignity without fostering pride, and in the great variety of orders and offices throughout the Universal Church presents a compact hierarchy, bound together by mysterious ties in indivisible unity. By encouraging this study it is manifest that the Popes proved themselves the friends of order and justice, and took from the exer-

cise of ecclesiastical authority all appearance of arbitrary power."

It was not merely the function of the Church, then, to teach philosophy, both as to mind and matter, but to exhibit in operation all that philosophy ever pretended to elucidate or strive for. In other portions of his works Archbishop Kenrick showed how this practical philosophy moulded all Old World society and regulated its course, until it was arrested on its career by the agencies of revolt and discontent, in whose train came the miseries, the revolutions and the wild orgies of human nature rejecting all control, divine or human, and trusting to the guidance merely of its own savage passions.

It was Archbishop Kenrick's exquisite sense of propriety and good taste in argument that made him the most formidable of controversialists. He never debated as to the man, but always as to the question. Hence, though he usually emerged victorious from such unavoidable logomachy, his victory left nothing rankling in the mind of the defeated save the sense of defeat. Similarly his policy in periods of trial for the Church. Patience and humility, the two most beautiful characteristics of both our Divine Redeemer and His faultless Mother, were the leading characteristics of his policy in the most trying crises of his career. They stood him in good stead now in those days of horrible fraternal strife. He scrupulously avoided mention of anything that could give the smallest ground for cavil or controversy, and his clergy found in his attitude an example that inspired them with confidence and courage. He showed them that it was the part of the priest to pray for peace without cessation, to allay bitterness, to succor the stricken, to pour the blessed balm of divine consolation on the wounded spirit, to keep his mind dissociated from the

passions of the hour, and so prepared to minister efficaciously to the unhappy victims of a calamity which he was powerless to avert or control save by the agency of heartfelt supplication to heaven.

Although outwardly unaffected by the calamitous course of events which convulsed the continent, the heart of Archbishop Kenrick was profoundly moved. Those who lived and moved in the front of the conflict had no means of judging what its vicissitudes brought to the thoughtful and tender-hearted who were placed outside the wide scene of passion and unnatural excitement. The wise and the humane suffer anguish undreamed of by the soldier as they read of struggles wherein the lives of men for whom Christ died are held of no more account than those of deadly pests. Those who ride on the tide of battle often feel some compensation for its horrors in the delirium of joy which waits upon the triumph; but the bleeding hearts who feel as acutely for those who have fallen as for those who have conquered must mourn unconsoled by any factitious human alleviation. The Archbishop caused the prayers for the public authorities to be continuously recited in all the churches. Like Falkland, the anguish of his heart at the bloodshed and the horror that often surged up to the very threshold of his own diocese, made him cry out for "peace, peace!" But in God's providence that peace was not to come ere he closed his eyes on the things of earth. It was believed by many near him that his end was hastened by the overpowering sorrow of his heart at witnessing the prolongation of the unnatural conflict and the frightful magnitude of the carnage and ruin which it entailed. The sanguinary battle of Gettysburg had just been fought when he was seized with his mortal illness. News of the terrible event was beginning, no doubt, to come in, and must have reached his

ears. This may, perhaps, have been the finishing stroke. At all events, the fact remains that he was found dead in his bed, peacefully sleeping, apparently, the day succeeding that awful field. The shock was too much for his tender nature, and a spirit unfitted for the strife and hate of earthly conflict was mercifully summoned from scenes that had agonized and lacerated it to the very core.

His feelings, said Dr. O'Connor (who spent several hours with him the previous evening), were like those of the mother whose child Solomon ordered to be cut in twain. All his talk was of the war and the probable outcome of the whole appalling business. No outlook could possibly be more gloomy—and yet the hour was that penultimate one of darkness preceding the advancing dawn. But no ray of light was vouchsafed the eyes that were strained to the breaking point; God's purposes were shrouded in the darkness and the thunders of Sinai. The horror of the situation was intensified by the local evidences of colossal catastrophe. All day long wounded men were being borne into Baltimore, until their number swelled to the thousands. The city was full of apprehension and that frightful unrest which one word might turn into wild panic and open the postern for anarchy, spoliation and murder. That a great battle —another and a greater Waterloo—had been fought not far away was easily surmised, but the shapeless rumors that had come in and the ghastly tokens of the reality gave no idea of the surpassing magnitude of the event or the decisive bearing it was destined to have upon the solution of the awful problem. These rumors reached the quiet of the Archbishop's chamber; they filled his soul with agony unbearable. It was grief that hastened his death—for there was little in his physical condition to indicate its propinquity; he had been full of vigor the day before, as Dr. O'Connor vouches.

When he was discovered dead, he was as if in a placid sleep, his hands, one of which held his scapular, crossed upon his breast; there were no indications of any mortal struggle such as usually precedes the parting of the body and the soul; the countenance wore its usual tranquil look. At what hour the summons came was never ascertained. But he himself had been anticipating it; it would seem that he must have had a premonition. He spoke to friends some time before in a way that gave that impression. In his early days he had been presented by a brother priest with a sacred relic that had belonged to the venerable Bishop Flaget, his devoted friend and patron during his Bardstown days. It was a fragment of the true Cross. He had shown it to Dr. O'Connor, with a request that when he died it should be returned to the priest from whom he had received it. Dr. O'Connor only replied with a pleasant little *mot*, and then the Archbishop put the relic into a drawer, bidding him observe where it was to be found in order that his injunction should be duly carried out. When this incident was coupled with the significant remarks to others about the same time, it was the conclusion of those who pondered on them that an intimation that his end was near had been vouchsafed the faithful servant of God, for some hidden purpose. Such things had been known before. As an uncle, Rev. Dr. Kenrick, of Dublin, and another near relative, had died very suddenly of heart disease, it may be the fear of this had also its influence on his mind at this time.

It was during the night of July 6, 1863, that the Archbishop passed away. His interment took place on the 11th. It was marked by all the mournful pomp with which the solemn ceremonies of the Church invests the last tribute to her sons and daughters who fall on the field of duty. The Archbishops of New York and Cin-

cinnati, and the Bishops of Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Louisville, Erie, Wheeling, Buffalo, Brooklyn and Covington, together with all the local and neighboring clergy, assisted at the function. The grief and veneration of all ranks and classes over his demise were strongly manifested in every outward token of mourning—in the press as well as in the pulpit, among the business community no less than among the circles of the religious. Philadelphia, in especial, lamented the loss of one who had been the means of rescuing the Catholicity of the diocese from the myriad dangers and scandals of a religious schism.

Thus placidly passed away the life that had been from infancy given wholly to God, the saintliest, most scholarly, but withal most modest of all American prelates. Yet he was not summoned ere his work was done, and well done. None had a greater part in the moulding of that Church which seems destined to be yet the greatest in extent and achievement, in our new epoch, than he. His spirit was breathed into it; his learning, his orthodoxy, his piety are to-day reflected in its ever-widening members. And while these characteristics, caught from him, continue to inform it, the calm courage and patient fortitude which so sustained him in the days of trial and persecution are also a heritage transmitted from him and those who with him passed through the trying ordeal.

The literary monuments left by Archbishop Kenrick surprise even the best scholars of to-day, by the amount of labor they represent no less than their solid value. His books on "Dogmatic and Moral Theology" (seven ponderous volumes) would seem the work of a lifetime for the ordinary writer. Of this work the *Metropolitan* (1854) wrote: "The appearance of so large a work, written in good Latin, and intended really for use, was

a source of wonder to the Protestant public and clergy, few of whom could read it without some difficulty, and none perhaps with ease. Considered in a literary point of view, it marks the classic character of our writers, a familiarity with Roman literature which is unequaled in the country." His work on the "Primacy," though of an entirely different kind, displayed an acquaintance with the whole range of European history, since the beginning of the Christian era, no less extensive than that of Gibbon, and a thousand times more reliable for seekers after truth. Another singularly able and valuable treatise of his is a "Vindication of the Catholic Church." But the greatest of his literary achievements is the version of the "Sacred Scriptures"—translation and notes. It is in this that the vast learning of the author is best displayed. His knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin was indeed rare even among scholars of the first rank, so that the notes on the sacred text are mines of information to the ecclesiastical student, even of the present day. Besides this colossal work, he has also left a deeply interesting and most beautiful special treatise on that sublime work known as the Book of Job.

There are still living in Philadelphia a few persons who preserve the most vivid impression of Bishop Kenrick's personality. Nothing could be more emphatic than the testimony of Mrs. Jane Maher, one of his old parishioners of St. Mary's. This lady, who was beyond eighty years of age when the writer questioned her on the subject, summed up his personal qualities in four short, decided words: "He was a saint!" All his thought was for others. As he walked, she said, his eyes seemed to gaze on things unseen by others, his head slightly thrown backward and upward, and his hands, slightly clenched, held somewhat in front, as a rule. His face, although distinguished by a large mouth, was full of

sweetness mingled with firmness. "We all dreaded him," replied an old priest when asked by the writer in what esteem the clergy held the Bishop. He had the gift of command along with the dower of gentleness.

In the days of his mature energy Archbishop Kenrick was an indefatigable worker. No sooner was one great literary labor completed than he was found casting about for some fresh world to conquer. "Secundum volumen Theologiæ Moralis jam e prelo prodiit," we find him writing to his brother in 1842, "et in parando opusculo de Baptismo nunc insudo." No sooner was he done with the wine press than he began to tread out the oil. Although he had given his whole-souled allegiance to his adopted country, he yet did not forget his own. The fact that the *Catholic Herald*, which reflected his views, generally speaking, on political and spiritual matters, for years continued to devote much of its space to the reports of Repeal meetings and O'Connell's ideas and action proves that the sympathy of the prelate was heartily in accord with all that the Repeal movement aimed at. There were some rash and reckless advocates of that movement even among the American clergy, and we find in the Kenrick correspondence occasional references to such, couched in terms which convey disapproval of their speech and conduct. But we also find references to Daniel O'Connell by Francis Patrick Kenrick which indicate nothing but profound and sincere admiration for that illustrious leader of men. One of his first acts on arriving in Dublin in May, 1845, was to visit the Liberator, whom he designates "virum de patria et religione optime meritum," and the two had a long interchange of compliments, it would appear, respecting their several metiers and works. During this visit, which was preliminary to his appearance in Rome, the Bishop also went to see a relative of the family named Eustace,

a cousin-german, and another named Catherine Wilson, of whom he speaks commiseratingly as having been blind for many years. The Mr. Eustace whom he saw (and whose Christian name he does not mention in this reference) had a son whom the Bishop thought fitted for the sacred ministry, and he promised the father that he would either take him into the Seminary of St. Charles or send him to the Holy City to be educated. Another member of the family, Maria Anne Eustace, is referred to in a letter of August, 1846, as expressing a desire to join the religious life in the United States, so ardently that the Bishop did not like to say her nay, although he feared it would be displeasing to her family that she should do so. In letters of 1849-50 we find several references to Andrew Eustace, whose wife died from cholera in the former year. The bereaved husband come to the United States after that sad event and remained with the Bishop for four months.

The fore part of this letter was written in Dublin apparently, and in a postscript dated from Paris the Bishop tells of visits paid to several religious institutions, including those of St. Vincent de Paul and the Sisters of Charity who presided over the institution for female penitents and various orphanages affiliated to the system of St. Vincent. He dwells at length on the appreciation in which the disciples of St. Vincent de Paul are held by the Government as well as the people of France, chiefly because of their avoidance of the region of politics.

Many letters about this period of the Bishop's career refer in terms of warmest friendship to the services of Mark Antony Frenaye.[8] This gentleman was of immense service to the prelate in his various large undertakings. He negotiated for him the purchase of ground for his seminary; he transacted all his financial business for him; his own purse seems to have been always at his

disposal. He seems to have been a man of the most unbounded generosity and largeness of heart and mind. Whenever the Bishop left the diocese of the country for any considerable time, Mr. Frenaye was the friend to whom he always intrusted his temporal affairs. His letters are so full of expressions of regard for him that he must have held him as a *fidus Achates* in all important concerns. When ill-health overtakes him he confides to his brother his deep concern at the fact; when he recovers he is equally outspoken in his joy over the result. The name of Frenaye, therefore, seems to have a claim upon the Catholics of Philadelphia such as few others can assert. It is questionable, indeed, if we may judge from the facts disclosed in the correspondence between the brothers, whether Francis Patrick Kenrick would have been able to erect either the Seminary or the Cathedral but for the generosity as well as the business capacity of this zealous and ever reliable friend.

"Maxima pietate et doctrina, necnon pari modestia et paupertate, Archiepiscopalein Cathedram exornavit." This is the legend carven on his tomb, where he rests in the temple of America's primatial see. Sculptor's chisel never more truly gave the summing up of a beautiful life.

One of the most cherished aspirations of the Bishop's heart was the hope of seeing a reunited Christendom. He had long preached and prayed for such a blessed consummation. The great obstacle was religious prejudice, and he foresaw that if this could once be eradicated the battle would be more than half won. Moved by this desire and the spirit of Christian charity, he took the bold course—bold for one who had always deprecated and discouraged controversy—of addressing a letter to the

Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church on the subject, in the year 1841. This document (which has been many years out of print) deserves to be rescued from oblivion, so unique is its character (considering the time), so cogent its reasoning and so exquisite its sense of the courtesies of public discussion. It was followed by a still more elaborate but yet similar one to the Right Rev. B. B. Smith, Bishop of Kentucky. The text is as follows:

RIGHT REV. SIR:

Your review of the late work of Van Dyck on "Christian Union" has given me, in common with all the friends of unity, great satisfaction. Although I do not assent to all the positions which you advance, I cannot but cordially approve of every effort directed to so desirable an object. To have called public attention to the subject is highly meritorious, especially when the respectability and rank of the writer give additional importance to its sentiments and suggestions. You "earnestly entreat that the principles upon which the article is based may be subjected to the most rigid scrutiny; that their fallacy, if any is to be found in them, may be exposed, or if not, that their correctness may be avowed and straight forward applied to practice." I am therefore emboldened to communicate to you my views, in the hope that the candid and respectful statement of them may contribute in some degree to the great end which you propose—the reunion of all professing Christians in one Church. I am not insensible of the difficulties to be encountered, nor do I entertain very sanguine hopes of their immediate and entire removal; but your efforts forbid me to despair. If all Christians were once awakened to a sense of the importance of unity, they would eagerly seek after the means for its attainment; and to doubt, in this case, of the most happy results, would be to question the sincere will of God, that all come to the knowledge of truth and to salvation. An inquiry made in a spirit of humility and prayer must be successful. Besides, the temperate discussion of this important subject must tend to draw nearer to one another those who have been hitherto widely separated, and to substitute kind feeling for anti-Christian hatred.

"Volumes," you tell us, "would ill suffice to unfold the evils of disturbing the unity, in which the Saviour prayed, that all His disciples might be bound together." As we are perfectly agreed on this point, and the task of enumerating these evils is invidious as well as painful, I shall not undertake it. Would to heaven that your prediction of their speedy termination may be verified, and that "here in America, where the curse of sectarism has been most bitter, its cure will be most sudden and complete." There are, indeed, some circumstances of a highly favorable character. As we have no national or State

religion interwoven with the civil institutions, we are at liberty to follow the dictates of conscience without exposing ourselves to the frown of power or loss of our rights as citizens. Truth and salvation need only be had in view, and a union formed through regard for these would surely be as honorable to us as it would be glorious for our common Christianity. How delightful would it be to see the errors and feuds of three centuries at an end, and the multitude of believers in Christ having, as it were, but one heart and one soul, their minds being irradiated with the effulgence of His truth and their hearts glowing with the flame which He came on earth to enkindle.

"A mere agreement of Christians that they shall not bite and devour one another," such as is proposed by Van Dyck, would not be sufficient. "The unity of the Church," you acknowledge, "always means unity in form and practice, as well as unity in doctrine and spirit." You, therefore, maintain that "there must be a return to one outward form of Christianity;" and you confidently avow your "conviction that every attempt to put a stop to the dissensions and subdivisions which distract the Church must for ever prove futile, until Christians are agreed in one outward form of Christianity." I fully agree with you in the great importance of uniformity of Christian worship, though I cannot entirely assent to your assertion that "outward Christianity with the multitude is the whole of Christianity." I believe that the evidences of religion are such that even the unlettered can comprehend them, and that the mysteries which they render credible receive the homage of enlightened faith from the poor, and even from those who are foolish in the eyes of the world, equally as from the wise and powerful. Yet external forms have, no doubt, great influence, and the oneness of outward form serves to maintain unity of doctrine. It is on this principle that we retain the rites, vesture and language of the liturgy as they have come down from the early ages, that it may be known how tenaciously we cling to the faith of those whose form of worship we preserve with such veneration. If, then, all Christians could be induced to embrace one outward form of Christianity, their union in faith might follow; but I see no reason to hope for this conformity in worship until they shall have first agreed in doctrine and recognized some general authority whose regulations must be universally respected. An inquiry into the ancient form may, however, serve a most useful purpose, inasmuch as we can thereby learn what was the faith of the early ages in regard to those tenets which are most directly connected with worship. I feel happy, therefore, that you have directed public attention to the outward form of Christianity in the year 300, 250 or 200, and have avowed that when it shall be ascertained, Christians must agree with willing minds and hearts to return to that unity in all essential respects. The most direct evidence that could be adduced would be books published at those periods, professedly containing the ritual or mode of worship. I am not aware of any liturgy of such antiquity, though some liturgies bear the names

of the Apostles Peter and James and one of Mark the Evangelist. The awful sublimity of the Christian mysteries made the early Christians careful to conceal them from their pagan persecutors, except when it became necessary to give some insight into them in order to repel atrocious calumnies. The forms of administering the sacraments and celebrating divine worship were preserved by private instruction and practice, but no written detail of them was suffered to meet the public eye, lest the profane should trample on that which was holy. In the course of the fourth century, after the rage of persecution had ceased, religion appeared abroad in all her splendor, and liturgies were published conformable to the usages existing from time immemorial in the principal churches. These liturgies satisfactorily show what was the outward form of Christianity not only at the time they were made public, but also in the preceding ages, since their substantial identity proves that they had a remote and common origin. In the absence of direct proof this is the best means of ascertaining that outward form; and it is satisfactory to find that the incidental references made by the early fathers to the ritual are fully sustained by the liturgies. Thus we find St. Cyprian speaking of the solemn prayer, which we call the Canon, and of the prayers which precede it, especially of the Preface, and the invitation to lift our hearts to God, precisely as the ancient liturgies and the liturgy now in use exhibit them: "When we assist at the prayer we ought, dearly beloved brethren, to watch and apply ourselves with our whole heart to the prayers. Let every worldly and carnal thought retire, and let not the mind at that time think of anything but of that for which supplication is made. For this reason even the priest premising the preface to the prayer prepares the minds of the brethren by saying: Lift up your hearts, and the people answer: We have them lifted up to the Lord."

I know, Right Reverend Sir, of no more correct mode of ascertaining the outward form of Christianity in the year 250 than the testimony of an eminent writer like Cyprian, then living, and the liturgies which approach nearest to that period. If the information derived from such sources be duly regarded, it will be easy to agree on the nature and mode of worship practised in the Church from the days of the Apostles. Thus we shall be disposed for union, if all professing Christians be ready to follow your advice and to conform to that ancient form "in all essential respects." I have read with no small degree of surprise the following sentence of your Review: "It would not startle us at all were they (the principles of inquiry) to point out some outward form of Christianity buried and forgotten for fifteen hundred years." Can you conceive, Right Reverend Sir, that the Church of Christ has been for fifteen hundred years without a proper form of worship? Have you discovered some liturgy or other satisfactory evidence of an ancient form of worship essentially different from every form now in use? For my part, having given some attention to this subject, I have no hesitation in saying that the liturgy called

the Roman Missal is substantially the form used from the earliest period of Christianity. After the profound researches of the learned, to go in search of a form forgotten for fifteen hundred years is altogether unnecessary, and to propose the abandonment or modification of a form in use throughout Christendom, in order to embrace some form yet undiscovered, instead of being a means of terminating divisions, would, on the contrary, be most likely to multiply and perpetuate them.

Your strong expressions in regard to the oneness of form bring to my mind the vehement language which St. Cyprian uses when speaking of those who had separated from the communion of the Church and offered up prayers which he justly designated as unlawful. "Can he who acts against the priests of Christ," asks this great prelate, "who separates himself from the communion of His clergy or people, flatter himself that he is with Christ? Such a one bears arms against the Church and opposes the ordinances of God: he is the enemy of the altar, a rebel against the sacrifice of Christ, perfidious in faith, sacrilegious in religion, a disobedient servant, an impious son, a hostile brother: despising the Bishops and forsaking the priests of God, he dares erect another altar, offer up another prayer with unlawful words, profane the truth of the divine victim by false sacrifices; not knowing that whoever struggles against the ordinances of God is punished by divine justice for his temerity and audacity." Thus good order has always required that the solemn and public worship be in the form which the Church sanctioned, lest the temerity of man should introduce errors and the faithful hesitate to say "Amen" to the unauthorized prayers of individual ministers. Still more necessary has it been always deemed that all worship should be in unity of faith and in the full communion of the lawful depositaries of Church authority.

Your language shows that you are convinced of the indispensable necessity of unity of doctrine: "Our Saviour Christ" (you observe) "in his last prayer for His disciples, and St. Paul in frequent arguments in his epistles refer to the oneness of the Church—and at that period no idea could have been conveyed by their language, but a church one in form as well as in spirit. The earliest and purest writers of the Church employ language precisely similar, and by the unity of the Church always mean unity in form and practice as well as unity in doctrine and spirit." You are completely borne out in these views by the authorities to which you refer. "For them," said the Saviour, speaking of the Apostles, "I do sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified in truth. And not for them only do I pray, but for those also who through their word shall believe in me: that they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." The union among His Apostles and all who through the Apostolic ministry were to believe in him was to be a union in truth, and was to serve as an evidence of His divine mission. In fact, the harmony of

believers in receiving the revealed doctrines affords a splendid proof that they are taught of God; since no other sufficient reason can be assigned how millions so diversified in character should unite in the admission of tenets so far elevated above human conception. The mysterious links that bind intellects together in such admirable unity could scarcely be formed but by the hand of God. It must perplex the infidel to account for the dominion which Jesus Christ claimed and which He still exercises over the human understanding, captivating it to the obedience of faith and leveling every height that raises itself against divine knowledge. The Apostle evidently spoke of unity in faith as flowing from the adoration of one Divine Master: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," and He most earnestly inculcated the necessity of concord in mind, judgment and language when the truths of religion were in question: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you: but that you be perfect in the same mind, and in the same judgment." "I beseech you, brethren, to mark them who make dissensions and offences contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them." To cité in detail the testimonies of the early writers of the Church on this point is needless, as it is universally known that they all extolled the unity of Christian faith and rejected with horror all dissent from the established doctrine. The sentiments of all may be expressed in the language of Augustine, "from the rising to the setting of the sun she (the Church) sheds the splendor of one faith."

You appear, Right Reverend Sir, to think that this unity of faith would be best brought about by limiting the assent necessary for Church communion to the symbols of faith which were in use previous to the Reformation. "Was it wise (you ask) to attempt to add to the brief, general comprehensive creeds by which, down to the time of the Reformation, Christians were content to regulate their faith? It would seem that a return to those outward forms and symbols of our faith which prevailed in the earliest and comparatively incorrupt ages of Christianity must yet be the standard after which all Christians must agree to copy." I fully agree with you that the return to these ancient and venerable symbols would be an important step towards union, especially if the article of the Apostolic Creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," were assented to unreservedly, as explained by the Fathers of Nice and Constantinople in the creed which bears their name: "We believe in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church." Then indeed would all divisions be at an end! He who believes the Church regards her as the Spouse of Christ, glorious and pure, having neither spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing. He acknowledges her as the house of the living God, the pillar and the ground of truth. He feels confident that the gates of hell shall never prevail against her. He enters into the inviolable unity of her faith—he venerates the sanctity of her sacraments; he

admires the universality of her diffusion, and looks up with reverence to her Apostolic ministry continued in unbroken succession. But how can we hope that these symbols of faith will be received by all unless those who know the glorious things that are said of this city of God unite in proclaiming her authority? What would it avail if these symbols were nominally received and the privileges of that holy Catholic Church still called in question? Every attempt to form a real union among the professors of Christianity will be vain, unless the authority of the Church in defining the revealed doctrines and proscribing errors be admitted. Could it be that so many millions of men should harmonize, as it were, by accident in their judgment regarding doctrines, which as far exceed the sublimest conceptions of man as heaven is elevated above earth? Without this directing authority you will still witness the multiplication of errors and of blasphemies. The weak mind of man will seek to suit the revelation of God to his fancy, and each day will witness some new absurdity proclaimed on the authority of a divine book which the ignorant and unstable constantly wrest to their own perdition.

The symbols of which you speak are still in use in the Catholic Church, precisely as they were recited before the Reformation, and no profession of belief on any other point would probably have been required but for the unfortunate controversies of that period. The faith and practice of the Church would indeed be the same. She would still continue to offer the divine victim as in the days of Cyprian, and her faithful would adore the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus in the mysteries, as in the days of Justin and Ignatius: but while these and other doctrines coeval with Christianity were not assailed by unbelief, they would have been sufficiently attested by the public doctrine and practice of the Church; nor would the faithful have been otherwise called on to declare their special assent to them. Thus the Apostolic symbol sufficed in the early ages: a more explicit profession of the divinity of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost was rendered necessary in consequence of the errors of Arius and Nestorius; and the Church, still watchful lest error spread like a canker, exercises the same authority, by requiring the rejection of every novelty opposed to sound doctrine. Any attempt to restrict this undoubted right, by limiting it to some points, would be obviously in opposition to the commission given to teach all things whatsoever Christ had delivered to the Apostles, and would shake the foundations of faith by leaving it to individual caprice to judge what doctrines are essential and which of less importance. Whatever God has revealed demands our homage. In the solemn testimony of His Church we have evidence of that revelation, and we must consequently embrace His truth and wisdom, and submit our understanding to Him in all things.

"Has anything (you ask) been gained by spinning out the standards of faith into all the more minute ramifications of

metphysical and polemic theology? May not the thousand and one splits among Protestant Christians, on points of doctrine, be mainly traced to this fundamental mistake?" I should trace them to the absence of any tribunal amongst them, whose decisions would be regarded as a certain declaration of the revealed doctrines. But with regard to Catholics, who are happily agreed in all articles of faith, no doctrine can be proposed for belief unless its revelation has been satisfactorily ascertained. The Sacred Scriptures and all the monuments of religion through every age are diligently examined when any controversy arises; every liberty is given to discuss wherever any reasonable doubt can exist; and it is only after mature examination and humble prayer that solemn definitions of faith are pronounced. Our schoolmen may indulge metaphysical speculations, and may even canvass such points connected with doctrine as have not been defined; but their scholastic exercises, or disputations, have no influence on the faith of Catholic Christendom.

The golden rule of Tertullian, which you admire and recommend, is precisely that which the Church follows in her doctrinal decisions: "As inductive men (you observe) we do not like to state what that principle is, in the form of an axiom; and yet we know not how it can better be stated than in the words of Tertullian: 'Whatever is first is true; whatever is more recent is spurious.'" To understand the rule and its application correctly, I shall beg leave to cite the whole passage from the works of this very ancient writer: "I shall return (says he) from my digression to show the priority of truth, and the more recent character of falsehood, on the authority of the parable, which tells us that the good seed was first sowed by the Lord, and that tares were afterwards sowed with it by the adversary—the devil. He appropriately designates the distinction of doctrines by this figurative language, since even elsewhere the word of God is likened to seed. It is manifest, therefore, from the very series of the narrative, that what was first delivered is divine and true, and what was afterwards introduced is spurious and false. This principle shall hold good against all heresies posterior to the Apostolic age, which can derive no argument from conscience in favor of their truth. But if any of them dare claim so high an origin as the age of the Apostles, in order thereby to appear to have been delivered by the Apostles, because they existed in their day, we may say to them: Let them, then, make known the origin of their churches—let them unfold the series of their bishops continued in regular succession from the beginning, so that their first bishop derived his authority and commission from some of the Apostles, or from some Apostolic man who persevered in their communion. For it is thus the Apostolic churches exhibit their titles; as the Church of Smyrna relates that Polycarp was placed there by John, as also the Church of the Romans relates that Clement was ordained by Peter, and as certainly the other Churches exhibit the names of those who, having been raised

to the episcopacy by the Apostles, were made conservators of the Apostolic seed. Let heretics feign anything like this." It is all important that this excellent rule be clearly understood: "What was first delivered is divine and true; what was afterwards introduced is spurious and false." But how are we to ascertain what was first delivered? By the actual teaching of the Apostolic Church? "I shall here lay down as a principle that what they (the Apostles) preached, that is, what Christ revealed to them, should not be proved otherwise than by the same churches which the Apostles themselves established, they themselves preaching to them both viva voce, as they say, and afterwards by epistles. If this is the case, it is consequently evident that all doctrine which harmonizes with those Apostolic churches, the sources and models of faith, must be regarded as true; holding without doubt what the churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God: and that all doctrine which is opposed to the truth of the churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ and of God must be prejudged as false." Tertullian would not allow any inquiry to be made into the merits of the question, but he called for the proof of Apostolic origin; and if the individual, or society, could not prove an unbroken succession of bishops from the Apostles, he insisted that their doctrine should be rejected without examination. He met all innovators with the puzzling interrogatories: "Who are you? when and whence did you come?" If they appealed to the Scriptures, he denied their right to use them, because these belonged exclusively to the Apostolic Church. In a word, he pleaded the prescription of ancient and Apostolic origin against all their pretensions. We also can say with Tertullian: "We communicate with the Apostolic churches, which can be affirmed by none whose doctrine is different from ours; this is the testimony of truth. This proof is so complete that if it be advanced, there will be no need for further discussion."

I thank you, then, Right Reverend Sir, for having called public attention to this excellent principle, which has still more ancient and venerable authority to support it. The martyr Irenaeus detected the errors of his day by the application of this rule. Referring with confidence to the faith and tradition of the churches throughout the world whose bishops traced their origin to the Apostles, he says: "Since it would be very long to enumerate in this volume the succession of bishops in all the churches, by appealing to the tradition of a Church the greatest and most ancient and known to all, which was founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul; a tradition which she has from the Apostles, and the faith which she announces to men, and which comes down to us through the succession of bishops, we confound all those who in any way, either through evil self-complacency, or vain glory, or blindness and perversity, gather otherwise than is meet. For with this Church, on account of her more powerful principality, it is necessary that every Church agree,

that is, the faithful who are on all sides, in which Church the tradition of the Apostles has been preserved by the faithful who are on all sides." These testimonies, which need no illustration, lead us at once to that unity which is the object of our pursuit. That See to whose faith and tradition these illustrious writers specially appealed still subsists, and in the unbroken succession of her bishops exhibits a chain of traditionary evidence that reaches back to the days of her glorious founders. The collateral testimony of the Bishops in communion with her throughout the world serves to exhibit the divine harmony of faith and to render its evidences exceedingly credible. The inquirer after truth cannot, indeed, now be referred to the churches of Corinth, Philippi, Macedon, Thessalonica and Ephesus, as in the days of Tertullian, for Satan has sifted them even as wheat; but the faith of Peter has not failed in the Church founded by him, which remains, amidst the general wreck, a splendid monument of the truth of the promises of the Divine Founder of Christianity. If you, Right Reverend Sir, were sojourning in Italy, I should, in the language of Tertullian, direct your attention to that Church: "If you are near Italy, you have Rome, whence authority is at hand for us. How happy is that Church to which the Apostles communicated their whole doctrine, with their blood! where Peter is assimilated to the Lord in the manner of his death: where Paul is crowned with a martyrdom resembling that of the precursor: where John the Apostle, having been dipped in boiling oil, comes forth unhurt and is banished to Patmos. Let us see what this Church learned, what it has hitherto taught; what it has professed in common with the African Churches." This, sir, is the only means of realizing the golden project of unity in faith—to embrace the ancient and unchangeable doctrine which the Apostolic See professes in common with the churches of the Universe.

As you are convinced that all Christians should return to those symbols of faith which were used in the Catholic Church before the Reformation, you will also find that no better means could be devised for maintaining inviolate the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures. "Might not the most desolating and disastrous consequences (you ask) result from controversies respecting the books which go to make up this one Bible?" Most undoubtedly: but can you hope that these controversies will not be agitated and, what is still more lawful, that we may not have here, as already there are in Germany, great numbers of Protestant ministers publicly exploding the divine inspiration of the sacred volume and explaining away the miracles of Christ and all that is supernatural in religion? When the rock of Church authority is wanting, what is there to check the ever advancing waves of human temerity? Truly, if controversies respecting the sacred books have not hitherto been excited, it appears to me to be owing to the fact that their general admission by professing Christians led all to regard this as a settled question. If every Protestant had to adopt

the mode of investigation which you develop, I am apprehensive that the results might not be quite so harmonious. You, however, have a better right to know how Protestants form their faith on this important subject.

"What are the laws of evidence (you ask), guided by which all Christians come to such admirable agreement as to the canon of Scripture? Do we settle that grave point by appeals to the Scriptures alone? Do we require a 'thus saith the Lord' for the admission of any book within the compass of the Bible? If not, how may the method of investigation in a few words be stated? We select some period of Christian antiquity by universal consent anterior to great corruptions; and in order to be quite safe, anterior to the existence of great causes tending to corruption; the year 300, for example, previous to the conversion of Constantine, or the year 250, when the documents of the then existing Christianity were abundant, or the year 200, even when men were living who had conversed with the disciples of John; and we ask, what books were received by Christians everywhere; and with one consent, as sacred books; and these and no others we admit into our canon. Then with utmost care we look into every previous writer for concurring or for opposing evidence. Finding nearly everything clear and satisfactory, we finally repair to the books of the New Testament themselves for incidental and internal evidence to endorse for and confirm the whole. And here we rest satisfied that we have grasped the truth."

It is evident that this method can only suit the learned, who, after a very tedious examen, in which they find nearly everything satisfactory, from incidental and internal evidence, rest satisfied that the books contained in the Bible are divine. How do the multitude, for whose Christian instruction you are laudably solicitous, satisfy themselves on this all-important point? How do they know that the books have been preserved without change or adulteration and have been faithfully translated? You, Right Reverend Sir, may be able to solve these questions. To me it seems that Protestants take all this on an authority far less respectable than the solemn testimony of the Apostolic and Catholic Church.

But even the learned, I apprehend, would find some occasion of misgiving as to the divine inspiration of the several books of Scripture, were they to proceed on the plan which you have exhibited. I am not aware that the divine books of the New Testament were collected together and a canon or catalogue of them published at the early period you mention; or that a canon of the books of the Old Testament had been recognized by any general or high authority in the Christian Church. The books which were afterwards united in one volume were already in use, and were publicly read in various portions of the Church; but they were not as yet authentically and solemnly declared to be divine. There are, then, two unquestionable facts that may perplex the learned inquirer: first, it is certain that at an early period great doubts existed, with respectable

writers and churches, in regard to several books of the New Testament which Protestants and Catholics now receive; secondly, it is equally certain that the most eminent and early Christian writers cited as divine Scripture various books which Protestants now exclude from the Old Testament. Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian and many others refer to them as to the other Sacred Writings.

It is not my intention to excite doubts or to challenge controversy on this topic; but as it is all important that all Christians, learned and unlearned, should agree as to the divine authority of all the sacred books, and should know them by some easy and certain method, I submit to your good sense the importance of following in this, as well as in the symbols, the faith, tradition and solemn definition of the Apostolic Church. No one, however learned, need blush to say with the great Augustin: "We distinguish from the books of posterior writers the excellence of the canonical authority of the Old and New Testament, which from the days of the Apostles through the succession of bishops, and the propagation of churches being established, is placed aloft as on a throne, every faithful and pious understanding rendering it homage." "You see (says he elsewhere) how great is the authority of the Catholic Church in this respect, which is confirmed by the series of bishops succeeding one another from the well founded Sees of the Apostles down to the present day and by the consent of so many nations." He does not hesitate to affirm: "I indeed would not believe the gospel unless the authority of the Catholic Church moved me thereto." And speaking of the Acts of the Apostles he says: "Which book I must believe if I believe the gospel, since Catholic authority commends both Scripture alike." If we go back to the days of Tertullian, we shall find him applying his golden rule to this point when he refuses to allow heretics to argue from the Scriptures, since he maintains that without Scripture we can prove that they have no concern with Scripture, on account of their posterior origin. "Therefore an appeal must not be made to the Scriptures: nor must the contest regard them, since there would be either no victory gained or the victory would be uncertain, or equivalent to uncertain. For even though the Scriptural dispute should have such a termination as to leave each party equal, the order of facts required that the first questions should be: To whom do the Scriptures belong? From whom and through whom and when, and to whom the system of instruction was delivered whereby men become Christians: for wherever it shall be manifest that the truth of Christian instruction and faith exists, there will be the truth of the Scriptures and of its exposition and of all Christian traditions."

I have thus ventured to express respectfully my dissent from your views of the mode in which all Christians conceive divine faith in the Scriptures, and to point out in the very language of the ancients the admirable rule which you justly recommend. The references to the Apostolic See of Rome show that the

earliest writers of the Church acknowledged its more powerful principality. I am aware that prejudice is shocked at the very mention of this authority, and that it is identified with all that is revolting and anti-Christian. But you, Right Reverend Sir, know the truth of the avowal of the learned Protestant Casaubon, that "no one acquainted with Church history can be ignorant that God for many ages used the ministry of the Roman Pontiff for preserving the integrity of faith." I shall not here trouble you or myself with a vindication of the general character of those who have occupied this elevated station in the Church of Christ, nor with any labored defense of the privileges of their office. Unity being our common object, I shall avoid every invidious and unnecessary investigation; but I must beg leave to observe that the authority of the chief Bishop of the Church is of a conservative nature. The different portions of the Christian flock are subordinate to their respective prelates; yet they form one fold, under one shepherd, by their docility to the voice of the chief pastor. His individual opinion, much less his caprice, is not the rule of his judgments or of their faith, but he is charged inviolably to maintain the ancient doctrines and to confirm in that faith his brethren in Christ throughout the universe. The solemn definitions which, in the general Councils of Christian Bishops, his predecessors and their colleagues concurred in delivering are landmarks of doctrine which he claims no power to remove. His governing power is paternal and beneficent, directed to the maintenance of that outward form of Christianity whose advantages you justly appreciate; to the correction of abuses which human frailty may everywhere introduce, and to the extension of the spiritual kingdom of Christ amongst those who have not yet heard the glad tidings of salvation. To detail what Peter and his successors have done for these holy purposes would be to write the entire history of the Church—a history the study of which you justly recommend and which, if properly studied, must be highly conducive to union. Can the children or the descendants of the English Church forget that under God they owe to the truly great Gregory the knowledge and blessings of Christianity? I would willingly hope that the sects who are now separated from the communion of the Church will secure to themselves unity in faith and worship by admitting the mild and paternal and conservative power of the Pontiff. You avow that they must return to unity: "The time is at hand! Christians must at once, of their own free will, agree upon principles surely conducting them to one outward form of Christianity, and all with one consent cheerfully return to the unity of the Church." The celebrated Baron de Starck felt equally confident that the time of return was at hand, because the very general abandonment of supernatural religion by German Protestants convinced him that there was no other means of saving the vital doctrines of Christianity. The learned Grotius did not hesitate to express his despair of union among Protestants as long as the power of the Roman Pontiff was re-

jected. Indeed, it does not require prophetic foresight to predict that every device of human policy and wisdom for such a union will be vain, as long as that conservative authority is not acknowledged.

When union is proposed, the question naturally occurs: did Christ mean that His followers should constitute one great society and be bound together in faith and communion? You unhesitatingly answer that His Church should be one in form—in doctrine and in spirit. It is equally natural to ask: Did Christ establish any governing power to preserve this unity? His followers were to be of every tribe and tongue and people, living under every form of civil government. What means did He take for their organization into one society? What constitution did He give them? What officers did He establish? I presume you are ready to admit that He authorized His Apostles to appoint bishops to govern the distinct portions of His flock. But how did He provide for the general unity? Without some species of general government there could not be one society. It would be an impeachment of His wisdom to say that He willed the end without taking any means to effect it: and it would border on impiety for man to presume to supply a supposed deficiency in the organization of a Church of which the founder is God incarnate.

St. Cyprian, whose opposition to a particular decree of Pope Stephen renders his testimony respectable with Protestants, will be my chief authority on this point. He deplored the evils of schism which even at that early period desolated a portion of the Christian world, and he pointed out its causes and remedy: "No return is made to the origin of truth, nor is the head sought after, nor the doctrine of the heavenly Master observed. If any one consider and examine these things, there is no need of a long treatise and of arguments. The proof is easy to gain faith by the compendious way of truth. The Lord says to Peter: I say to thee that thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed also in heaven. And after His resurrection He says to him: Feed my sheep, and although after His resurrection He gives to all the Apostles equal power, and says: As the Father hath sent me, I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven: whose sins you shall retain, they are retained; yet to manifest unity He ordained by His authority the origin of the same unity, beginning from one. Even the other Apostles were certainly the same as Peter admitted to the equal participation of honor and power, but the commencement arises from unity, that the Church may be shown to be one." As I write with a sincere desire to promote unity and with no disposition to dispute, I wave all controversy about the character of that power which Peter received for the preservation of unity; and

I am satisfied with what must be very apparent from the texts of Scripture cited by Cyprian, as well as from his own observations, that Peter was specially appointed its guardian. The same authority for preserving the unity of the Church was acknowledged by this illustrious martyr to have descended to the Bishops of Rome, as successors of Peter; whence he speaks of the Roman See as "the chair of Peter," the "cathedra principalis," whence sacerdotal unity arose.

For your object and mine—the union of Christians—it is amply sufficient, Right Reverend Sir, that we should know where Christ lodged the principle of unity whereby His mystical body should be one—"compacted and fitly joined together." Though St. Cyprian, whilst he tenaciously clung to this chair of unity, resented the measures of St. Stephen, because he deemed them rash and severe, yet as the whole Church and even Protestants explode the error which Cyprian maintained, his example shows the danger of resisting, even in a single point, an authority which is exercised to preserve the faith and practice of the Church unchanged. "Nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est" was the celebrated decree: "Let no change be made: let the usage handed down to us from the Apostles be maintained." Such is the end to which the exercise of this salutary authority is directed.

It would be easy to show from the history of the Church that this principle of unity has always been recognized, or, as St. Augustin expresses it, that "the principality of the Apostolic chair always existed in the Roman Church." The Corinthians, when torn asunder by dissensions in the first age of Christianity, were recalled to unity by the Roman Church, "which wrote to them a most powerful letter to restore peace amongst them and renovate their faith," as the martyr Irenaeus testifies. The letter, which was from the pen of Clement, the third occupant of that See from Peter, is a splendid monument of the salutary and healing influence of Pontifical authority. Whatever may be thought of some acts of particular Pontiffs in bad times, it can scarcely be questioned that the general exercise of their power in regard to the Universal Church served to maintain unity in doctrine, and thus sustained that character of oneness which you justly regard as essential to the Church of Christ. I may add that in our days it cannot prove otherwise than beneficent and conservative, since conscience alone can induce our submission. You will no doubt agree with me that we would not be worse citizens or less happy men, though we were all concordant in the belief of all the revealed doctrines and all united by bonds of holy communion. These are the only consequences to be anticipated from recognizing the Bishop of Rome as the pastor who succeeds Peter in the charge of the fold of Christ.

Among the motives which retained Augustin in the communion of the Catholic Church, the pastoral authority granted by Christ to Peter and continued in the occupants of the See of Rome holds a conspicuous place: "I am held (he writes)

by the succession of priests from the very See of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, entrusted the feeding of His sheep, down to the present bishopric." He urged the Donatists to return to the communion of that See, in order to enjoy the vivifying influence of Christ, from whom they were separated as lopped off branches: "Come, brethren (he said, affectionately addressing them), if you wish to be ingrafted on the vine. It is a cause of affliction to us to behold you lying cut off from it, as you are. Number the priests from the very See of Peter and see how one succeeded the other in that list of fathers. This is the rock against which the proud gates of hell do not prevail."

Your candor and good sense lead you, Right Reverend Sir, to recognize the separation of the Reformers from the Church as one of the grand mistakes of the Reformation. "Has not the time come (you ask) when the inquiry may safely be pursued by Protestant Christians whether one of the grand mistakes of the Reformation were not separation from the Church, instead of reformation in the Church?" It was truly a grand mistake! If it suppposed that any error in doctrine had received the solemn sanction of the Church, it implied a belief that Christ had failed in His promise to be with the Apostolic ministry, teaching all nations during all days even to the consummation of the world. Whatever may have been the abuses and disorders of the members of ministers of the Church, it was a grand mistake to imagine that the chaste Spouse of Christ had proved faithless to Him to whom she was united by indissoluble ties. Her obedience and fidelity were proposed by the Apostle as the model which Christian wives should imitate. "As the Church is subject to Christ, so also let the wives be to their husbands in all things." Hear St. Cyprian: "The spouse of Christ (he says) cannot become an adulteress: she is uncorrupted and chaste. She knows but one house; with chaste modesty she guards the sanctity of one chamber." It was a "grand mistake" to suppose that any cause could exist authorizing the violation of unity—the revolt against divinely established authority. "We produce (says Augustin) these proofs from the Holy Scriptures, that it may easily be made manifest that there is no crime greater than the sacrilege of schism, because there is no just necessity of rending unity." I stop not to inquire the extent of the disorders that existed, though Erasmus, a favorite authority with Protestants, avows that St. Paul, had he descended on earth, would not, on the whole, be dissatisfied with the general state of the Church at that period. It is sufficient for my purpose that Christ, its Founder, foresaw and predicted the scandals that would desolate the world, and yet pointed out no contingency in which we should not hear the Church and those who occupy the chair of authority. Had evils prevailed of such magnitude as to require a change of system, and a transfer of authority, from those to whom it had descended, by the regular channel of ordination, it would have been necessary

that Christ should have come once more on earth and reorganized His Church, and having revoked the commission already granted, given a new commission to the men whom He chose to be the future heralds of His gospel. Without this direct authority from Christ, it was a grand mistake to separate from the Church and endeavor to substitute "a human church," as St. Cyprian eloquently expresses it, for a divine institution. I designate this attempt by your own mild term, though Augustin would call it madness and sacrilege. Cyprian knew no language strong enough to express his horror of such separation: "Whoever separating himself from the Church joins an adulteress, is separated from the promises of Christ; nor has he who leaves the Church of Christ any share in the rewards of Christ—he is a stranger—a profane man—an enemy. He can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If any one out of the ark of Noe could escape, so likewise he that is out of the Church may escape. The Lord admonishes us and says: He that is not with me is against me: and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth. He that breaks the peace and concord of Christ acts against Christ. He that gathers elsewhere, scatters the Church of Christ. The Lord says: I and the Father are one; and again it is written of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost: and the three are one; and does any one imagine that the unity which proceeds from divine strength and which is maintained by heavenly sacraments can be torn asunder in the Church and destroyed by the opposition of discordant hearts? Whoever does not hold this unity does not hold the law of God—does not hold the faith of the Father and of the Son—does not hold life and salvation." You may still call the men who wilfully violated unity "very eminent saints," nor shall I pause to delineate their real character; but I shall merely say with the Apostle: "They went out from us: but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us."

Another "grand mistake" of the Reformation appears to you to be the attempt to add to the ancient creeds; or perhaps you might with greater accuracy have said, the laying aside these venerable symbols and the substitution of new confessions of faith. You justly remark that the knife "which divides the polypus cannot be more prolific than that knife which has been so much in use in cutting off every member from the Church who differed in any thought from some standard by which the operator has been pleased to try his opinions." This grand mistake was long since exposed by Bossuet, who showed the numberless variations which were to be found, even on points of great importance, in Protestant creeds; and you are aware how vast an addition could be made to his history if it were continued down to our day. It was surely a "grand mistake" to think that when the venerable authority of the Universal Church was discarded, any tribunal acknowledging its own liability to error could challenge the assent of men's minds to

its decrees or to the standards of belief which it erected. To proclaim that every one is the proper judge of faith and yet to hope that each will firmly believe whatever code of doctrines a number of his fellows, equally fallible as himself, may have adopted is indeed to calculate too much on human credulity. The intellect of man is naturally free. God alone claims its homage. When on His authority we assent to truths delivered by a tribunal which He has established, as the pillar and ground of truth, we testify our obedience to His sovereign truth. Man—erring man—cannot claim the assent of his fellow-mortal to his opinions or conjectures about what God may have revealed: to do so is as unjust as it is inconsistent.

A third "grand mistake" was, as you state, "the effacing of the Scriptural and primitive distinctions between clerical and lay officers in the Church." You are correct, Right Reverend Sir, in regarding this as a great error of the reformers. "When the authority of proper officers ceases to be recognized and the respect and obedience due to them are subverted, who can predict what endless discords may ensue?" Alas! all was confusion and anarchy when a simple monk spurned the authority of the chief Bishop of the Christian Church—priests denied the superior power of bishops—and laymen in their turn claimed a participation of Church power. A lay-man—a boy—a woman was acknowledged as the head of the Church, and even bishops blushed not to hold their office at her good pleasure! The imposition of hands was no longer acknowledged to be a sacrament of divine institution, conferring grace for the proper performance of the high functions of the ministry and impressing an indelible character; the forms of ordination were changed in such a manner as to render the validity of the rite at least very questionable; the communication with the great source of spiritual jurisdiction was cut off, and consequently the Scriptural and primitive distinctions were effaced. "Attempt to separate a ray from the sun," says St. Cyprian, "the unity of light admits not the division; break a branch off the tree: when broken it can no longer germinate. Cut off the channel from the source, when separated it dries up: so likewise the Church, irradiated with the light of the Lord, diffuses her rays throughout the universe. The light, however, which is everywhere spread is one; nor is the unity of the body separated. With abundant fertility she extends her branches throughout the whole earth. She spreads abroad her copious streams, but there is one head, one origin, and she is the one mother blessed with a numberless progeny. We are born of her—we are nourished with her milk—we are animated by her spirit."

Now, Right Reverend Sir, these "grand mistakes" would be obviously rectified by returning to the unity of the Church, acknowledging her authority in delivering the revealed doctrines and respecting the order which Christ has established. You are right in rejecting all mere expedients and palliatives; and though you do not at all avow a disposition to embrace

the communion of the Catholic Church, yet as you declare your determination to follow up the principles which you have laid down, is it too much to hope that you will become the avowed advocate of return to the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, of which the Apostolic See of Peter is the centre? I sincerely hope it. Your example and your influence would do infinitely more for the cause of unity than any project your zeal might devise. Indeed, you seem fully sensible of "the responsibility which weighs on the consciences" of those who are engaged in the instruction of others; and you must feel that this responsibility increases in proportion as God enlightens them to value the blessings of unity, and to recognize the means for its attainment.

Many are in a state of separation from the Church more through the accident of birth than by any fault of theirs, and such may not be chargeable with the guilt of schism; but all who know the one Church and the unity which the Saviour wished to be preserved inviolate must feel the duty and necessity of conforming to His will and returning to her communion. Redeat ne pereat, "Let him return lest he perish," was the admonition of Augustin to the wilful separatist, and is applicable to all who wilfully persevere in a state of separation.

You may be surprised at the candor of my language, but your very candid avowals have emboldened me to express myself unreservedly. You have seen the awful consequences of separation from the Church, especially in the West, where "furious advocates of some two or three splits and subdivisions amongst sects" are everywhere to be found, and you know as well as I the arts and devices by which public credulity is abused.

I can, however, hardly agree with you that where "population is dense and causes long in operation have served to bind together a vast majority of the people in the support of a preacher of some one of the orthodox denominations the evil is hardly felt to be an evil and can easily be tolerated." In my mind, sectarism is everywhere an evil, because it is no less opposed to the unity of faith than to charity, which is one of the most splendid characteristics of the divine influence of Christianity. You have enumerated some of its many baleful consequences. "It divides families and convulses communities, it saps and undermines the due influence of the ministry, it encourages the spirit of insubordination and misrule—it encourages the contempt of the blasphemer and hardens the heart of the infidel—fills Christendom with mourning and covers it with dishonor." You have summed up its evils in one sentence: "Sectarism is one of the master devices of Satan." Bacon was right in saying that it makes atheists. In fact, as the adoration of many Gods was virtually the denial of the true and supreme Deity, so the multiplication of sects implies the denial of any revelation. If God made a revelation, it must be one and in harmony with itself in all its parts. Contradictions cannot emanate from Him who is essential Truth. To suppose

that He revealed some doctrines without establishing means whereby they could be ascertained with certainty is to impeach His wisdom and His goodness.

I cannot give much importance to a consideration which seems to have some weight in your estimation. "How they (the sects) are ever to be brought together to erect a suitable place of worship, or to sustain Christian institutions upon a respectable and permanent footing, is a proposition which no modern inventor has yet had sufficient sagacity to solve. In such a state of things Christianity must grovel dishonored in the dust." No one loves more sincerely than I do the beauty of the house of God, and no one would rejoice more at seeing institutions of learning and piety rise, such as in ancient times adorned Christian lands. I am also sensible that the dignity of religion is compromised when the poverty of its ministers leaves them in a state of mendicity or dependence. But higher motives call our attention; "the charity of Christ presseth us"—the highest interests of Christianity are at stake—and all who desire glory to God and peace to men should make every effort "to bring them back again to the unbroken unity of the Church." "Then we shall all soon rejoice together as members of one body in the unity of this spirit and in the bond of peace." These, Right Reverend Sir, are consoling hopes: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings and that preacheth peace; of him that showeth forth good, that preacheth salvation, that saith to Sion: Thy God shall reign."

The great evil of sectarism in relation to the conversion of the heathen strikes you forcibly. "This common sense principle is sufficiently tested by asking contending sects in Great Britain and America how they can present one Gospel to the people of China without a previous agreement in what outward form of Christianity it may be sent to them?" I fully agree with you in the justice of this remark; but I must beg to add that agreement in the doctrines of Christianity is infinitely more important. The Chinese, or the Indian, must be astonished and perplexed at finding that the messengers of the Great Spirit deliver contradictory messages in His name. The preaching of the Apostles was not it is and it is not, but it is, in Jesus Christ. "The time has now come (you say) when the few scattered bands of converted heathen are to be gathered into churches and to be supplied with a permanent ministry. Can it be that the conductors and friends of our various missionary societies will go forward upon principles which must perpetuate on heathen soil and to the ends of the earth the palsying and degrading controversies which agitate the Church at home?" Alas! for the days of Xavier, when one man, without missionary funds or presses, brought to the knowledge of salvation millions of heathens in Japan and elsewhere! "A few scattered bands" are all that can now be pointed out, after the immense sums raised for missionaries and the numberless Bibles that have covered the heathen land. Why this difference in the

success of Catholic and Protestant missionaries? Was it by this slow process that Augustin spread Christianity over England, Patrick made Ireland an island of saints, Boniface evangelized Germany and so many other Apostolic men brought the world to Jesus Christ? You perceive, Right Reverend Sir, that Catholic unity has had its influence in producing these effects, and that God blessed the labors of those holy men, who, being sent by the successors of Peter in the name of the Saviour, preached His everlasting Gospel. They went forth and brought forth fruit, and their fruit still remains.

In the hope that this communication may serve to promote the cause of Christian union, I beg to thank you sincerely for the service which you have rendered to the cause of unity by your remarks, and to assure you of the esteem and regard with which I remain, Right Reverend Sir, your obedient servant,

†FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Bishop of Arath and Coadj. Bp. Phila.

Philadelphia, January 29, 1836.

APPENDIX.

Archbishop F. P. Kenrick on the Patrimony of St. Peter.

As the question of the Temporal Power of the Pope is likely to be for some time an undecided problem, it is appropriate to recall what is said on the subject in the "Primacy of Peter" (Chap. I., Part 2):

"The primacy is essentially a spiritual office, which has not, of divine right, any temporal appendage: yet the Pope is actually sovereign of a small principality in Italy, designated *the patrimony of St. Peter, or the States of the Church.* It has been so styled because it has been attached to the pontifical office through reverence for the prince of the apostles. As it has no necessary connection with the primacy, and as Catholics, not living within the Roman States, are not subject to the civil authority of the Pope, it is not necessary to treat of it; yet it is a matter of no small interest to trace its history, and observe by what a combination of events Providence has annexed it to the Holy See, and most wonderfully maintained it amidst the revolutions of empires and kingdoms.

"Christ sent forth His disciples without scrip or staff, giving them no dominion over the least spot of earth. In making Peter the ruler of His kingdom, He gave him no dominion, nor wealth, nor any of the appendages of royalty. The Master had not whereon to lay His head; and the chief disciple was unprovided with any earthly possession. Gold and silver he had not, but he had powers of a supernatural order for the government of men in order to salvation.

"The generous zeal with which the first disciples devoted themselves to the service of God led many of them to sell their property, and lay the purchase money at the feet of St. Peter, to form thence a common fund for the general necessities; yet we have no reason to suppose that it rose to any great amount, since the constantly flowing streams of beneficence left but little in the common reservoir. When the apostle closed his career, he bequeathed to his successors no inheritance but the labors and dangers of his office. For three centuries they continued exposed to the fury of persecution. Nevertheless, the generosity of the faithful consecrated to the service of religion, under their direction, a considerable portion of their worldly riches; so that a public treasure was formed, by means of which the clergy and a large number of indigent persons were supported. In the middle of the third century, Pope Cornelius, in a letter to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, stated that there were then at Rome forty-six priests, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, lectors and janitors; that is, clergymen in minor orders; and one thousand five hundred widows, with other afflicted and distressed persons—to all of whom the grace and bounty of the Lord furnished support. The heathens believed the wealth of the Church to be great, since the deacon Lawrence, in the time of persecution, was called on to deliver it up to the public officer. To avoid doing so, he distributed all to the poor, whom he presented at the appointed time, saying: 'Here are the treasures of the Church.'

"It is certain that the Emperor Constantine, on his conversion to Christianity, bestowed large possessions on the Bishop of Rome; although the document purporting to be the instrument of donation is now acknowledged to be supposititious. As the acute De Maistre observes,

nothing is more certain than the donation of Constantine. Voltaire avows that 'he gave in reality to the cathedral church of St. John, not to the Bishop of Rome individually, a thousand marcs of gold, and thirty thousand marcs of silver, with a revenue of fourteen thousand sous, and lands in Calabria. Each Emperor successively increased this patrimony. The Bishops of Rome stood in need of it. The missionaries whom they afforded a refuge, the poor whom they fed, put them under the necessity of being very wealthy.' The palace of Lateran was in possession of the Pope, soon after the conversion of Constantine, since Melchiades held there a Council to decide the Donatist controversy, and the Church erected beside it still bears the name of the generous Emperor. Fleury testifies that from the ancient monuments of the Roman Church it is apparent that Constantine gave to the baptistery of St. John of Lateran, which is attached to the Constantine basilica, so many houses and farms, not only in Italy, but likewise in Sicily, Africa and Greece, that the annual revenue amounted to 30,934 marcs of gold. Secular influence naturally followed wealth, and the withdrawal of Constantine from the ancient capital of the empire left the Bishop of Rome in a position almost independent; the pontifical chair being no longer overshadowed by the imperial throne. Necessity forced him oftentimes to act as protector and father of the Roman people, when his interposition alone could avert the wrath of some fierce barbarian rushing forward to lay the fair city in ruins, and fill her streets with her slaughtered citizens. When Attila, 'the scourge of God,' at the head of 500,000 Huns, advanced to its destruction, the mild eloquence of Leo the Great disarmed him. Two years afterwards the Pontiff discharged the same office of mediator with Genseric, who, at the head of Vandals and Moors, came to wreak vengeance on the queen of nations;

but he could only save the citizens by delivering the city to pillage. Although the Bishop of Rome was not in fact a temporal sovereign, yet his spiritual power was surrounded with so great secular influence, that he almost ranked as a prince, and felt that wrongs inflicted on his representatives in the imperial court were violations of the rights of sovereignty. In 484, St. Felix complained to the Emperor, Zeno, that the laws of nations had been violated by the injurious treatment of his legates.

"The moderation and indulgence with which the Popes treated their dependents made men desirous of enjoying their protection. St. Gregory the Great exhorted Sabinian, Bishop of Callipolis, a city dependent on the Roman Church, to see that the citizens should not be overmuch burdened. Pantaleon, the notary of Syracuse, having reported to him that injustice had been practised in the name of the Roman Church on her dependents, he praised him, and directed strict inquiry to be made into the wrongs already committed, that they might be repaired: 'for,' he says, 'like the Teacher of the nations, I have all things, and abound: and I do not seek money, but a heavenly recompense.' He instructed Peter, his agent in Sicily, to cause restitution to be made, if, as was alleged, the possessions of individuals, or their personal property, or their slaves, had been seized on in the name of the Roman Church, within the preceding ten years, and to save the aggrieved the trouble of coming to Rome for redress. Strict impartiality was enjoined by him, as the best evidence which the agent could give of his devotedness to the Apostolic See: 'for then,' says he, 'you will be truly a soldier of St. Peter, if in cases which concern him, you maintain what is right, without regard to his interests.' Guizot, after citing some humane regulations of Gregory, observes: 'It is easy to understand why people were at that time eager to place themselves under

the dominion of the Church: lay proprietors were certainly far from showing like solicitude for the well-being of the occupants of their domains.'

"The possessions of the Roman Church were regarded as a trust for the poor, whose interests St. Gregory felt that he was guarding, whilst he attended to the collection of the revenues, which he dispensed with liberality and discernment. He directed two thousand bushels of wheat to be given by the deacon, Cyprian, his agent in Sicily, to the Bishop, Zeno, for the relief of the poor of his city. Sending the priest Candidus into Gaul, to manage the small patrimony of the Roman Church in that kingdom, he ordered the revenues to be employed in buying clothes for the poor, and in purchasing English boys of seventeen or eighteen years of age, that they might be rescued from the bondage of error and sin, and instructed in some monastery where they might serve God. He thanked the prefect of Africa for the protection afforded by him in what regarded the interests of the poor of blessed Peter, prince of the apostles. Talitan, another guardian of the patrimony, was exhorted by him to defend it, as being the portion of the poor. Truly did Gibbon say: 'In the use of wealth he acted like a faithful steward of the Church and the poor, and liberally applied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order.'

"Property, in those ages, brought with it dominion over the occupants of the soil. Whence, as the same writer observes, 'the agents of the Church of Rome had acquired a civil and even criminal jurisdiction over their tenants and husbandmen.' Although the feudal system was not as yet developed, yet much that characterized the ages strictly designated feudal was observable in the relations of landlord and tenant; so that the remarks of Guizot may be applied to that period, and may help to solve the enigma of the exercise of a power apparently supreme in

many respects, and yet confessedly subordinate to the imperial authority. 'The landed proprietor,' says this acute writer, 'as such, exercised in his possessions some of the rights now reserved to the sovereign. He maintained order, administered justice, or caused it to be administered; led forth, or sent forth to battle the occupants of his lands, not in virtue of a special power styled political, but of his right of property, which included various powers.'

"In fact, we find Gregory issuing orders to the defender —that is, agent or officer charged with the care of the patrimony—in an authoritative form: *præcepti nostri pagina:* and confirming his acts in the most express manner, to prevent their being called in question: *per hujus tuitionis paginam confirmamus.* He directed his attention to the case of an injured woman, whose complaints had reached him, and ordered an inquiry to be made into it, by arbitrators to be chosen by the parties. He prescribed rules to be followed in trials of the right of property, and directed possession during forty years to be taken as a presumptive proof, barring any adverse claim. He instructed Sergius, the defender at Otranto, to force Fruniscendus to answer a claim made against him, and he directed him to pronounce and execute the sentence without admitting any appeal.

"It may be questioned whether Gregory acted as a landed proprietor, in several instances, in which he took upon himself to direct military movements for the defense of various parts of Italy. Doubtless he had vast interests at stake, but zeal for the common safety may have prompted him to give orders, which all were disposed to receive with gratitude and reverence from one whose social position was already so eminent. We find him appointing Constance, the tribune, to guard the city of Naples, and exhorting the soldiers to obey him. Mau-

rentius, another officer in command of the troops at Naples, was directed to relieve Theodosius, abbot of a monastery in Campania, from the necessity of guarding the walls. Apprehending that Ariulphus, the Lombard, might attack Ravenna, or Rome, he issued orders for defense to the commanders of the troops. He apprised Januarius, Bishop of Cagliari, and Genadius, who appears to have been a layman in high office, of the danger of the invasion of Sardinia by the Lombards under Agilulph, that they might prepare to repel it, and declared that on his part he would neglect nothing in his power in order to be in readiness.

"The negotiations which he carried on with the Lombard king show that his own position was equivalent to that of an independent prince. He urged Severus, the assessor of the exarch, to advise him to make peace with Agilulph, intimating that should he decline any arrangement, the king had offered to come to an arrangement with himself, who must have been consequently in a position nearly equal to that of a sovereign. He afterwards made peace with the Lombards on terms nowise prejudicial to the commonwealth. He wrote to Agilulph, to thank him for the peace, urged him to see that his officers respect it, and assured him that he received his messengers affectionately, as bearers of good tidings. At the same time he addressed letters of thanks to Theodolinda, the wife of the king, for her kind offices in procuring peace, and begged her to continue them, that Agilulph 'may not reject the society of the Christian republic.' 'Disappointed,' says Gibbon, 'in the hopes of a general and lasting treaty, he presumed to save his country without the consent of the Emperor or the exarch. The sword of the enemy was suspended over Rome: it was averted by the mild eloquence and seasonable gifts of the Pontiff, who commanded the respect of heretics and bar-

barians. The merits of Gregory were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult; but in the attachment of a grateful people, he found the purest reward of a citizen, and the best right of a sovereign.'

"That he had civil authority at Rome, appears from the plea of Boniface of Africa, who offered as an excuse for not presenting himself to give an account of his faith, that his friends feared the employment of force against him: 'Those,' says the Pontiff, 'who partake of your doubts, if they will come to me, have no reason to fear that I will employ my authority against them; for in all causes, but especially in those which regard divine things, we are eager to bind men by reason, rather than by force.' His great civil influence is apparent from his observation, when he was calumniated as having caused the death of the Bishop Malchus: 'On this point it suffices for you to remark to our most serene lords, that if I, their servant, had been willing to cause the death of the Lombards, the nation of the Lombards would, at this day, have neither king, nor dukes, nor counts, but would be in unutterable confusion.' He was not, however, free from all dependence on the empire, since we find him promulgating a law enacted by Mauritius, although it did not accord with his own judgment. The terms of his remonstrance indicate the submission of a subject to his sovereign.

"At a subsequent period, the fanatic zeal of Justinian to procure the approval of the Trullan Council, and the persecuting measures of the iconoclasts, caused the Romans and Italians to rally round the Bishop of Rome. When Zacharias, an imperial officer, attempted to execute the order which he had received for the arrest and transportation to Constantinople of Pope Sergius, who refused to sanction the innovations of the Trullan prelates, the military of Ravenna, of the dukedom of Pentapolis, and

of the neighboring districts, rushed to the defense of the Pontiff, and, but for his interposition, would have torn the officer to pieces.. The Lombards vied with the Romans in protecting the person of Gregory II. against the satellites of the iconoclast Emperor, Leo the Isaurian. From that time, the military took a conspicuous part in the election of the Pope, being allowed on more than one occasion to declare their assent by subscribing to the document which certified that he was chosen by the clergy, soldiery and people. The Holy Pontiff, notwithstanding this attempt on his life, continued to support the imperial authority, forbidding the Italians to execute a determination which they had formed to shake off the yoke, when Leo the Isaurian decreed the destruction of the sacred images. The Popes were prompted by humanity and religion to adopt measures for the protection of the Romans against the barbarian hordes that overran Italy. With this view they raised walls around the city, and provided it with means of defense. Their independence seems to have been accomplished about the year 728, when the imperial power became extinct in Italy; but their inability to protect 'their people,' as they emphatically called the Romans, forced them to have recourse to the Frank princes, who generously came to their relief. When Rome was besieged by Aristulph, King of the Lombards, Stephen III. called on Pepin, King of the Franks, to succor the Roman Church, and 'his people, the citizens of the republic of the Romans.' On his victory over the Lombards, the prince restored to the Pope, in the year 755, twenty cities, which his valor had rescued from the oppressor. The temporal principality, which had originated in the necessities and will of the people, was strengthened by this act, and the munificence of the prince proved him worthy of the title of 'Patrician,' which implied that he was the official pro-

tector of the Roman Church and people. It is not easy to define with accuracy the relations of the Romans to the prince and the Pontiff; but to me it appears that the latter may be regarded as limiting his sovereignty to the exercise of a protectorate, whilst the Romans were virtually a republic, and that the patrician was to support the existing order by his intervention in cases of extraordinary danger from external assaults, or domestic dissensions. By his counsels and influence, rather than by the display of power, the Pontiff reigned over his people, who cheerfully obeyed their father and benefactor, unless when excited passion drove them to temporary acts of insubordination and revolt. As it did not become him to use the sword, he called to his aid a temporal prince to employ that coercion which was necessary to restrain rebellious spirits, reserving to himself the exercise of the milder attributes of sovereignty. When some desperate men attempted to assassinate the Holy Pontiff Leo III., and actually mutilated and disfigured him, he became intercessor in their behalf with Charlemagne, then only designated patrician, and obtained their pardon. Yet, on a subsequent occasion, when a similar attempt had been made, and the assassins had been found guilty of a crime punishable with death, according to the laws of the Romans, he suffered the sentence to be executed, lest extreme lenity should embolden the wicked.

> "Mercy is not itself, that oft looks so;
> Pardon is still the nurse of second wo.

"Among the acts of sovereignty which the public danger forced the Pontiff to exercise, was the repelling of barbarian troops that invaded the Roman territory. In the reign of Leo IV., the Saracens endeavored to effect a landing at Ostia, in order to advance against Rome. The heroic Pope fulfilled the duties of a sovereign without

prejudice to his spiritual character: 'Pope Leo IV., taking upon himself at this crisis an authority which the generals of the Emperor Lothaire seemed to abandon, showed himself worthy to be the sovereign of Rome, by his successful defense of it. He had employed the riches of the Church in repairing the walls, raising towers and extending chains over the Tiber. He armed the troops at his own expense, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaeta to come to the defense of the coasts and port of Ostia, without neglecting the wise precaution to require hostages from them, as he well knew that those who are strong enough to aid us, are equally so to do us injury. He himself visited all the posts, and met the Saracens on their approach, not clad in military attire, as Goslin, the Bishop of Paris, had appeared in a still more critical conjuncture, but as a Pontiff exhorting a Christian people, and a sovereign intent on the safety of his subjects. He was a native of Rome. The courage of the first ages of the republic revived in his person, at a period of degeneracy and corruption, like some splendid monument of ancient Rome, now and then discovered among the ruins of the modern city. The attack of the Saracens was bravely met, and half of their vessels having been destroyed by a storm, a portion of the assailants, who escaped shipwreck, were chained, to be employed in public works: the Pope deriving this advantage from his victory, that the very hands which were raised for the destruction of Rome, were employed in fortifying and adorning it.'

"The like occasions for the exercise of a protective sovereignty occurred from time to time. In the early part of the tenth century, John X. successfully repulsed the Saracens, who had attempted to invade the Roman territory. Benedict VIII., in the following age, drove them from the Italian shores, and compelled the Greeks, who inhabited Apulia, to sue for peace. St. Leo IX.

accompanied his troops in their expedition against the Normans, who ravaged the south of Italy, to inspire confidence by his presence; but he took no part in the strife, being content, like another Moses, to uplift his hands in prayer. God, whose counsels are mysterious, suffered the barbarians to prevail, and His servant become their captive; but such was the influence of his sacred character on their minds, that instead of insulting him in misfortune, they knelt to do him homage.

"The occasional exercise of supreme power over the Romans, by the Emperor, has led Guizot to observe that 'the sovereignty was not fully ascribed either to the Pope or to the Emperor; uncertain and undivided, it floated between them.' It appears by numberless facts, that the Pope was sovereign, and that an efficient protectorate was acknowledged in the Emperor, who came, at his solicitation, to support him, and, in that conjuncture, exercised a temporary sovereignty. 'We acknowledge,' said Alexander II., 'the Lord Emperor, in virtue of his dignity, advocate and special defender of the Holy Roman Church.' The prefect of the city made the oath of allegiance to him up to the time of Innocent III., which would be inconsistent with the recognition of Papal sovereignty, were it not done with the consent of the Pontiff to provide for an extraordinary emergency. The municipal government of Rome seems to have been always in the hands of popular officers, after the manner of a republic, so that even the power of the Pope was seldom felt in the details of civil administration. He interfered chiefly when the public danger required that the vessel of the State should be guided by a superior mind and firm hand; and he called for the support of the Emperor when physical force was necessary to subdue the rebellion of his own subjects. 'The spirits, and even the institutions of the Romans,' as Hallam remarks, 'were republican. Amidst

the darkness of the tenth century, which no contemporary historian dissipates, we faintly distinguish the awful names of senate, consuls and tribunes, the domestic magistracy of Rome.' The origin of the pontifical sovereignty is traced by Gibbon to the necessity which the Romans felt of superior guidance and support, to which we must add the voluntary submission of various cities, anxious to share the blessings of a mild protectorate. 'By the necessity of their situation, the inhabitants of Rome were cast into the rough model of a republican government; they were compelled to elect some judges in peace and some leaders in war; the nobles assembled to deliberate, and their resolves could not be executed without the union and consent of the multitude. The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic councils were moderated by the authority of the Bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the West, his recent services, their gratitude and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate, or prince, of the city. The Christian humility of the Popes,' he adds, in a tone of irony, 'was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord: and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins. Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years, and their noblest title is the free choice of a people whom they had redeemed from slavery.'

"Under the influence of the seditious declamations of Arnold of Brescia, the Romans, during a considerable part of the twelfth century, were in revolt. Several Popes were forced to flee from their capital, and erect their chair in Perugia, Viterbo, or some other city of Italy, or to take refuge in France, which gained the glorious title of the asylum of Popes. Sometimes the Emperor came to their relief, and replaced them in safety on their throne.

On other occasions, heaven itself seemed to take their cause in hand, and by pestilence brought the disobedient Romans to a sense of duty. In 1230, after a calamitous visitation of this kind, caused by the inundation of the Tiber, they sent an embassy to Gregory IX., who for two years had been an exile in Perugia, beseeching him to return and bless his penitent children. The venerable Pontiff lavished gifts on them, and 'built a noble palace for the use of the poor;' as his biographer assures us.

"The character of the pontifical government has been at all times paternal and protective; whence, although popular discontent has often manifested itself, especially through the intrigues of schismatical Emperors, the people generally sought to enjoy its advantages. In the eighth century, as we learn from Anastasius, 'some of those of Spoleto and Rieti came to Rome, entreating to be shaved "*alla maniera de' Romani*," in token of their subjection to the Pope, rather than to the Lombards,' and after the defeat of the Lombard king, Desiderius, the entire dukedom eagerly sought the same privilege. The paternal character of the pontifical government is stated in a letter from the Senate and the Roman people to King Pepin, in the year 763, in the pontificate of Paul I. 'They protest that they are firm and faithful servants of the holy Church of God, and of our most blessed father and lord Pope Paul, because he is our father and excellent pastor, and labors incessantly for our salvation, as his brother Pope Stephen likewise did, governing us as reasonable sheep committed to him by God, and exhibiting clemency always, and imitating St. Peter, whose Vicar he is.' On the elevation of Innocent III., Conrad, duke of Spoleto and Assisi, seeing the eagerness of his subjects to enjoy pontifical protection, freed them from their oath of allegiance, and surrendered various fortresses into the hands of the Pontiff. Rieti, Spoleto, Assisi, Foligno and

Nuceri, with their whole districts, thus came into his power. Perugia likewise, Eugubium, Todi and the city of Asquapendente, Montefiascone, and all Tuscany acknowledged his authority.

"The pontifical principality was greatly embarrassed by the high pretensions of the princes or barons within the States of the Church, until the reign of Alexander VI., when they were crushed by the strong arm of Cesar Borgia. From that time the Papal sovereignty was more extensively felt in the confederacies of princes: but for a long period the Pontiffs have maintained a complete neutrality.

"Although the splendor of a throne may seem to correspond but ill with the lowly beginnings of the Roman Church, when the Syrian fisherman, preaching the folly of the Cross, came unnoticed or despised into the city of the Cesars, we cannot doubt that Divine Providence has clothed his successor with this adventitious power, that he might exercise more independently the attributes of his spiritual office. His civil dominion is large enough to inspire respect, whilst it is not of such extent as to render him formidable. It enables him to foster many ecclesiastical institutions of vast advantage to the Universal Church, as well as to be a munificent patron of learning, art and science. Were he the subject of a temporal prince, the exercise of his authority would be always liable to the suspicion of constraint, or undue influence, and he might become, like the Bishop of Constantinople, 'a domestic slave under the eye of his master, at whose nod he alternately passed from the convent to the throne, and from the throne to the convent.' The great Bossuet has well observed: 'God wished this Church, which is the common mother of all kingdoms, not to be dependent on any kingdom in temporalities, that the See, in which all the faithful should preserve unity, might be above the partialities which the different interests and jealousies of

States might occasion. The Church, independent in her head of all temporal power, is thereby able to exercise more freely, for the common benefit, and under the protection of Christian kings, this heavenly power of governing souls; and holding in her hand the balance, in the midst of so many empires often at enmity, she maintains unity in all bodies, sometimes by inflexible decrees, and sometimes by wise temperaments.'

"It must be acknowledged that there are inconveniences connected with the union of temporal sovereignty and spiritual supremacy in the one person; yet it should be remembered that the powers are altogether distinct, since the former regards only the inhabitants of the Roman States, whilst the latter reaches to the ends of the earth. The Pope is not as the Roman Emperor, who in quality of sovereign Pontiff exercised religious supremacy, controlled by no law but his will, and co-extensive with imperial sway. The civil administration is carried on by tribunals and officers distinct from those that are charged with the general affairs of the Church, so that there is no confusion of powers. The policy pursued is indeed controlled by the great principles of the Gospel, to the disregard of mere expediency, the rule of most other cabinets, which is the great secret of its success: so that, as the Russian ambassador Italinsky observed: 'It is the only court in which no complete blunder in politics is ever made.' This also is the reason of the great uniformity observable in the course of successive Popes, for, in general, as Gibbon remarks, 'the same character was assumed, the same policy was adopted, by the Italian, the Greek, or the Syrian, who ascended the chair of St. Peter;' which is expressed by Voltaire in fewer words: *'l'esprit de Rome vit toujours;'* Rome's spirit never dies. The mild government of the Popes, and the light taxation to which the Romans were formerly

subjected, provoked the envy of strangers, who regarded them as the happiest people in the world but for the sanguinary collisions of the nobles, which have long since ceased. In truth, the lenity of the administration is its chief reproach; but it still merits the tribute paid to it by the infidel historian: 'If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state as a mild, decent and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the sallies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of war.'

"Under the present illustrious occupant of the pontifical throne, the paternal character of the government appears with increased lustre. With generous solicitude for the happiness of his subjects, he has anticipated their desires, by adopting, of his own accord, measures for the amelioration of their condition. It is strange that a respectable writer should choose such a time for foreboding the overthrow of the Roman See, in punishment of the alleged usurpations of its incumbents. 'Constantinople,' says Dr. Jarvis, 'has long since been punished for her usurpation. What will be the fate of Rome under Pius IX.? We hope that its temporal condition will be improved without any diminution of the authority of so beneficent a prince; but if his clemency and liberality should embolden the profane and seditious to tear from him his own, we have only to mourn over human depravity. 'The better principality' which the Roman Church possessed in the days of Irenæus is altogether independent of earthly sovereignty; it will survive every change of governors, and modes of government, and will shine forth from a dungeon as well as from a throne. No vicissitudes of the Roman States can affect that spiritual authority, which, going forth from the See of the fisherman, is felt even in the midst of its enemies. The death of Pius VI. in exile,

and the captivity of his successor, left little human hope that the States of the Church would be restored, or that the See itself would continue: but God, who casts the mighty from their seats, replaced the persecuted Pius VII. on the throne of Peter, amidst the boundless acclamations of a devoted people, and left his oppressor to perish on a desert island.

"It is a stale calumny that Catholics are vassals or subjects of the Pope. He claims no temporal dominion over us, and we everywhere profess, with his full knowledge and entire approbation, unqualified allegiance to the respective civil governments under which we live. The fathers of the fifth Council of Baltimore took occasion to state this distinctly in their address to the late venerable Pontiff, which was most graciously received. At the request of the sixth Council, his present Holiness has simplified the oath taken by bishops at their consecration, omitting the terms and phrases which savor of feudal times, although they do not anywhere receive a feudal interpretation. Thus all pretext for questioning our allegiance is removed, although our adversaries still object to us the acts of former Popes, who interfered in the civil concerns of Christian nations and in the controversies of princes. It will not be uninteresting to review historically those facts, in order to reconcile our present professions with past transactions."

In his Philadelphia chronicles Bishop Kenrick indicates the interest he took, from an early date, in the great agitation for reform in the drinking propensities of the people. Under date of November 28, 1849, we find an entry of the arrival of the renowned Father Theobald

Mathew in Philadelphia. Bishop Kenrick states that since the year 1838 this wonderful missionary had given the total abstinence pledge to 5,773,504 persons. He remained with him two weeks, and during that time three thousand persons took the pledge from him. Many Protestants, the Bishop adds, came to hear and see, and many sick, blind and afflicted in body were brought to have the great missionary, whom fame had already spoken of as gifted with miraculous power in prayer, converse with and pray for them. But this was not the first note in the temperance campaign in Pennsylvania, for the same diary tells how on the 9th of August, 1840, the Rev. Edward Barron, Vicar General, preached in St. Peter's, Brownsville, on the blessings of total abstinence, when twenty-two persons took the pledge. The note adds that in the month of June preceding the Bishop had issued a pastoral on the subject, and as a result about five thousand men in the various towns had joined the total abstinence union.

NOTES.

(For most of the following the author is indebted to the kindness of Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon.)

[1] Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick informed Archbishop Ryan that his brother, Archbishop Francis Patrick, was born on 3d December, 1797, and was called Francis because of the saint whose feast comes on that day—St. Francis Xaxier.

Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon writes: Peter Richard Kenrick was born in New Row on the 17th of August, 1806. This statement is beyond all question, for it rests on the authority of the Archbishop himself, who on the occasion of a visit to Dublin about the year 1868 celebrated Mass at Warrenmount Carmelite Convent, and on returning in a cab to the parochial house of SS. Michael and John, accompanied by Rev. John O'Hanlon, then a curate of that church, he pointed through the open window to that house on the east side of New Row in which he was born. At that time the old-fashioned and respectable houses of a former period stood, and they were all very similar in appearance; but the cab passed so rapidly, and he failing to ask the number, Father O'Hanlon was unable then or afterwards to identify that house. A later visit to New Row showed how nearly all the old houses on that side of the street had been pulled down, while new brick buildings have gradually replaced them. It seems most likely the house of Peter Richard Kenrick's nativity no longer exists. The year, it may be noted, also accords with the date given in the Registers of Maynooth College. The same venerable authority finds that the grandfather and grandmother of the distinguished Archbishops were industrious, pious and humble residents on the Coombe, in Dublin, the former working at his trade as a weaver in the district called the Liberties of the Earl of Meath towards the close of the eighteenth century—a time when employment was brisk and business very prosperous throughout the city and country under the fostering influences of a native Parliament. Respected greatly by their relatives and friends, they reared, by good example and instruction, the following children committed to their charge: Their son Thomas, father of the Archbishops, had for his brothers Richard, Francis and James; their parents also had a daughter,

whose Christian name the venerable Canon has not been able to discover. Thomas was married to Jean Eustace, but at what date has not been ascertained. In his youth, Richard—said to have been born on the Coombe in 1780—wrought at his father's trade, not less honorable to himself than to his honest parents that, like the Apostles, he might earn bread by the labor of his hands, until nearly his twentieth year. However, he had an earnest desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state, so that besides a faithful discharge of his religious and social duties he also studied the classics, and entered in 1799 Maynooth College, then only a few years established. There he was a zealous and an edifying student until 1804, when, in company with thirty-three others, he received the sacred order of priesthood from Most Rev. Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin. From that period forward the Rev. Richard Kenrick performed with unremitting zeal the arduous duties of curate to the Very Rev. Dr. Martin Hugh Hamill, P. P., of St. Nicholas of Myra, Francis street, and Vicar General of Dublin. To the parish of St. Nicholas Dr. Hamill had been promoted by Most Rev. Archbishop Troy in 1796, and in the old church of Francis street his sermons were greatly admired for their instructiveness, style and eloquence, not by Catholics alone, but by many distinguished Protestants. His health was not robust, and most of the parochial work fell to the lot of the curate. On the death of Dr. Hamill, in the year 1823, Father Kenrick was appointed to succeed him as parish priest of St. Nicholas'. During the term of his administration none could excel him in the exercise of charity, humility and all ecclesiastical virtues. Frequently was he known to divide his last shilling with the poor and miserable. He was unremitting in his attendance at the Mendicity Institution, then established in Dublin, and his unparalleled exertions for the destitute of every district were in constant requisition. He took deep and warm interest in the struggles of Daniel O'Connell for Catholic emancipation. His sermons were plain and practical, and as a pastor of souls, possessing great sense and solid understanding, he appealed not so much to the imagination as to the conscience of his flock, and he spoke from the heart. He was most active in exertions to abolish drunkenness, faction fighting, unjust combinations, cursing and swearing and other prevailing vices which called for his reprehension. The present beautiful Catholic church in

Francis street—destined to supersede the old one—was commenced by Father Richard Kenrick, who zealously procured the means for its erection and carefully superintended the progress of its building during the brief period of his pastorate. It was, however, finished by his successor in office, the Very Rev. Matthew Flanagan.

On the 5th of September, 1827, Father Kenrick left his residence in Francis street, apparently in perfect health, to dine with a friend, and rode on a horse lent him for the occasion. He suddenly took ill on the road between Ranelagh and Donnybrook. Dismounting from the horse, which was left in care of a boy, he retired to a field adjoining. Not returning after a considerable delay, the boy entered the field and found him lying in great agony on the grass. Giving the alarm, people were soon collected who brought the dying priest to the nearest cabin. Before the medical attendant, Mr. Furlong, could arrive he expired, in the forty-seventh year of his age and in the twenty-third of his sacred ministry. When the melancholy news reached the city, several clergymen and friends of the deceased hurried to the spot to ascertain the particulars of his death. A sensation of gloom and deep regret soon spread among his parishioners and the citizens at large to whom he had been so long and intimately known and by whom he was so deservedly beloved and respected. His remains were deposited in the church of Francis street for two days, during which they were surrounded by thousands, moved to tears, while the shops in the parish were all closed and persons of a different religious profession testified by every means in their power the veneration in which they held his memory. On Saturday, the 8th of September, at 2 o'clock P. M., the public funeral of this exemplary and kind-hearted pastor took place. About one thousand respectable citizens walked three abreast, bearing white rods with ribbons appended and wearing scarves and hatbands, most of them in deep mourning. Then came innumerable carriages, followed by a number of hired vehicles. An immense concourse of the poorer classes of persons, male and female, moved in reverential order, a select guard appointed by the funeral committee keeping the passage through the streets open until the funeral cortege reached the metropolitan church, Marlborough street. The regulating committee walked behind the coffin with white staves and streamers

and black cloaks. The venerable Archbishop Daniel Murray officiated, while numbers of the Dublin clergy attended and, chanting psalms and hymns, accompanied the remains to that cemetery in which they were interred.

The foregoing particulars, it may be added, are gleaned from the biography and panegyric contained in the *Catholic Penny Magazine*. Evidently they were written by some friend, who had not only a good knowledge of the deceased pastor, but a high appreciation of his amiable and religious character as well.

There can be no irrelevancy in chronicling such incidents of Father Richard's life, since, owing to his near relationship with Francis Patrick and Peter Richard Kenrick, that good priest had a large share in forming their youthful minds and directing their education for the distinguished career about to open before them. There can be little doubt that the latter prelate was called after his venerated uncle.

[2] This priest was known to the present writer for a good many years, but his name was spelled in a different way, viz., O'Malley. He became toward the end of his life quite a prominent political writer, taking a very active part in the literature of the Home Rule controversy, as an upholder of the federal principle and an ardent admirer of the famous Isaac Butt, M. P. He was then an exceedingly mild and gentle old priest, very venerable in appearance and strongly suggestive of the celebrated "Father Prout" in face and general *ensemble*.

[3] In the "Records of the American Catholic Historical Society" for December, 1902, there appeared from an anonymous contributor a brief autobiography of Mr. Frenaye, together with a large number of letters showing how close were this estimable man's relations to a large number of the American prelates and clergy, as well as prominent lay Catholics of his day. His autobiography, like the man himself, it will be perceived, was truly modest. It was as follows: "A glance at the life of Mark Anthony Frenaye. Written at the special request of his reverend friend, Father Ed. J. Sourin, and given to him. Born in the Island of St. Domingue, February 5, 1783. In 1788 taken to France by his parents to be educated: this was a failure on account of the Revolution having swept away all the institutions of learning. The 9th of Thermidor saved his parents from the scaffold: during their imprisonment was con-

fided to the care of a trusty domestic of the family. About three years afterwards made his first Communion secretly, religion being still persecuted. In July, 1802, returned to the island of his birth; found the yellow fever raging violently, carrying off all newcomers, took it, was at the point of death, saved by a merciful Providence. October 29, 1803, was taken by the Negroes to be put to death, was saved by a colored man, an officer in the army of the blacks. January 22, 1804, assisted by kind friends, made his escape on board a British frigate in the disguise of a midshipman, was carried to the Island of Jamaica, where he was allowed to remain as a prisoner of war and otherwise well treated. In June, 1806, was pressed for the militia, refused to serve, being on parole, was sent on board a prison ship in the harbor of Kingston July 4 of the same year. Released from it by superior order, left the country and came to Philadelphia the September following. In next November found a situation as a bookkeeper to a rich silk merchant, found in him a true friend; two years after had an interest in the concern. April 25, 1812, changed his position in society; that step a few years afterwards began by degrees to snatch from his hand the deceiving prism through which he had until then seen the world. In 1820 bought lands in Alabama, then a wild country; went there, led a very rough life, fell dangerously sick, recovered, disposed of the lands advantageously, and in 1824 left that State, went to Mexico and remained three years in successful business, but at the sacrifice of his health, which he has not recovered since. Alvarado and Vera Cruz, the graves of foreigners, were the seats of his labor. July, 1827, came back to Philadelphia, went to New York; in early part of January, 1828, determined to abandon his wandering life. Introduced to Bishop Dubois, went to confession on the 22d of the same month (anniversary of his escape from St. Domingue), had the happiness to receive Communion, after having neglected his Christian duties for twenty-six years: became a new man, no longer of the world. April 28 went to France to pay a visit to his mother (his father having died in Jamaica). May, 1829, returned to the United States with the intention of settling finally in Philadelphia. Archbishop Hughes, then pastor of St. Joseph's Church, was his confessor, and when he built St. John's Church he kindly offered him a home pastoral residence. It was in April, 1832. Archbishop Kenrick confirmed that home that had become so

happy for him. Subsequently came Bishop Gartland and the Rev. Father Sourin, who were also very kind friends to him; and finally he hopes the reverend Jesuit Fathers. Since 1832 under the protection of so many worthy friends, under their roof and enjoying their company la paix du Seigneur has been his happy lot: thanks be to God and blessed be His Holy Name!

"November, 1855.

"1861, July. The Jesuit Fathers having unexpectedly withdrawn in May, 1860, since that time I have happily found another friend and protector in the Rev. Father Dunn, the present pastor of St. John's, also in his assistant pastors. Amen."

It seems most probable that on the 18th of July, 1832, Mrs. Jane Kenrick departed this life in Kevin street, Dublin. Her interment took place in the newly opened cemetery at Golden Bridge, near Dublin, and situated between Richmond Infantry Barracks and the Grand Canal, on the 20th of that month. Her relative, Andrew Eustace, had already secured a plot of ground four feet in width by eight feet in length as a place for family interments; and in this the remains of the Archbishop's mother were deposited when she had attained a venerable age. Over the site of her grave a tall headstone now rises, and it is set on a granite pedestal, the enclosure about the spot for interment being marked off with chiseled stone of the same material. A long list of family deaths is recorded on the limestone monument above, the names and dates for interment being still perfectly legible. The Eustace headstone is not far removed from the boundary wall near Richmond Barracks, and is conspicuous owing to its height over all the adjoining tombs. Previous to Mrs. Kenrick's death Peter Richard had been ordained, and no doubt he often consoled his mother by frequent visits in her declining years, and had been one of the mourners beside her grave on the day of interment.

For many years previous to the opening of that cemetery, on the 5th of October, 1829, the Catholics of Dublin were interred in the old graveyards within the city, all of which were then under the control of the rectors attached to the Protestant churches adjoining, or in the overcrowded suburban burial places beyond the city bounds, and which were left in a shamefully neglected state. Some instances of intolerance having occurred when Catholic priests had been refused admission to offer prayers over the remains of their parishioners, the spirit of the citizens became aroused through such insults offered to their

creed. Daniel O'Connell brought the necessity for opening new cemeteries before the Catholic Association, and a response was accordingly made to purchase suitable ground for the purpose. Golden Bridge Cemetery was the first purchased and prepared for interment, on the south side of the city; the larger cemetery at Glasnevin was afterwards opened in March, 1832.

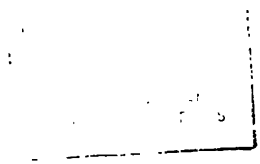
The early Register of Golden Bridge Cemetery in the large house of the Dublin cemeteries' committee contains the following correct entries of interment: "Mrs. Jane Kenrick, Kevin street, buried on the 20th of July, 1832," and "Francis Kenrick, Braithwaite street, buried 28th of July, 1834." It may be seen from the inscription on the Eustace headstone that the day of Mrs. Jane Kenrick's death does not appear, while that of Francis Kenrick is altogether incorrect, the 26th of September, 1834, having been substituted for the 28th of July.

We subjoin an exact copy of the inscriptions taken by Canon John O'Hanlon, P. P., Star of the Sea Church, Irishtown, July, 1900, and forwarded for use to the author of this biography:

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

Erected by Andrew Eustace of
Braithwaite street in memory of his Sister,
Elizabeth Eustace, who departed this life on
the 24th of January, 1832. Aged 33 years.
Also the remains of his Mother, Mary Ann Eustace,
who departed this life on the 23d of April, 1833.
Aged 58 years.
Here also are interred the remains of his Father,
John Eustace, who departed this life on the 21st
of July, 1834. Aged 78 years.
Also the remains of Jane Kenrick, a dear Relative,
who died in July, 1832.
Also of Francis Kenrick, Uncle of the above Andrew,
who died 26th September, 1834. Aged 61 years.
Also of William, Brother of the Above Andrew, died
the 23d July, 1837. Aged 41 years.
Also of Richard, the beloved Son of said Andrew,
died 4th December, 1837. Aged 2½ years.
Also of John, Brother of said Andrew, died 12th May, 1838.
Aged 33 years.
Also of Theobald Matthew, the Infant Son of said Andrew,
who died 14th April, 1840.
The above Andrew Eustace died 31 July, 1849, aged 53.
His wife Elizabeth died 6th July, 1849. Aged 41.
His sister, Marianne, died 31st July, 1853. Aged 30.
And his daughter, Margaret, died 30 October, 1858. Aged 20.
Requiescant in Pace. Amen.

BOOK II.



PETER RICHARD KENRICK, D. D.,
Archbishop of St. Louis, Mo.

PETER RICHARD KENRICK.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY TASTE FOR LEARNING—WORK IN THE SCRIVENERY OFFICE—ENTRANCE INTO MAYNOOTH. ORDAINED BY ARCHBISHOP MURRAY—DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA—MISSIONARY LIFE—ATTEMPT TO JOIN THE JESUITS—MEETING WITH BISHOP ROSATI—APPOINTED COADJUTOR BISHOP OF ST. LOUIS—EARLY DIFFICULTIES—HELP FROM WEALTHY IRISH FAMILIES—ENTRY INTO BUSINESS LIFE—ENORMOUS PHYSICAL DRAWBACKS TO SUCCESS—NARROW ESCAPE FROM DROWNING—YELLOW FEVER.

With respect to the nativity of Peter Richard Kenrick, it is unnecessary to say more than what has already been said regarding the environment and atmosphere amid which the family lot was cast. He was born in the old part of the city of Dublin, 16 Chancery Lane, on 17th August, in the year 1806. He seemed to have of his own motion chosen the religious life, as in the case of his brother, but the wishes of his uncle, the parish priest of St. Nicholas of Myra, may have had some share in the decision also. An extreme piety characterized the boyhood of both the brothers, and it was evidently this "kindly light" that led them on to their logical goal, in either case. An intense desire for learning began to manifest itself in the young man as soon as he had begun to taste of the Pierian spring. We are told that in his college days, ere he was ordained, he used to devote his

leisure hours—after study was over—to the study of things outside his course. As portion of his recreation he read Bergier's Ecclesiastical Dictionary through. The same passion for knowledge was characteristic of both the brothers. Literature was their nurture, their meat and drink. A high spiritual strain also constituted a common bond between these remarkable brothers. In tastes and tendencies there was a resemblance, too, in a general way. Still, in temperament there was a diversity more marked, perhaps, than is usually seen in children of the same parents.

It is only necessary to look at the two portraits to realize a wide dissimilarity. The elder brother's face is full of a gentle humor and kindliness; the other is no less gentle, but there is an austerity mingled with it that is entirely absent in the countenance of Francis Patrick. The eyes are meditative, too, in their expression; profound, introspective, penetrating: they give the impression of a perpetual play of brain and a continual weighing of intellectual problems. It is refined, also, in the highest degree, in all its lines and tones—a subtle face, full of suggestive power and bespeaking an indomitable will and a fearless spirit beneath the calm and masterly repose of its expression. There was, in fact, a very appreciable distinction between these two natures, although externally a great resemblance. While each had his own ideals regarding spiritual perfection, they approached the common goal by different processes of thought and dissimilar habits of mind. They strove for the same objects; they conceived like plans for the accomplishment of their high tasks; they employed the same spiritual means; their studies lay much in the same fields; yet they were perceptibly diverse in a thousand ways. Place two blocks of ice side by side—one cut from Wenham Lake, the other from a pond in a district

of much lower elevation. They will look exactly alike, yet a scientific examination will reveal the fact that there is an immense difference between the respective frigidity of each.

There is some uncertainty about the schools at which Peter Richard Kenrick received his earlier training. It may be that his uncle, the parish priest of St. Nicholas of Myra, helped personally in his Latin lessons, as well as supervised his general training; but it may be taken as certain that his education was not attained, so far as the Dublin portion of it was concerned, without considerable difficulty, because of the straitened circumstances of the family. The young student was obliged to work in his father's office, in order to eke out the family support, and here it was that he formed that acquaintance with that unfortunate child of genius, James Clarence Mangan, which may have had some share in determining his own bent of thought and literary style, as well as suggesting food for reflection on the fatal weaknesses of even the most gifted of mankind. Besides Mangan there was in the scrivener's office another assistant whose literary and poetic pretensions were not by any means inconsiderable, James Tighe, some of whose lyrical compositions appeared in the Irish periodicals of the time and show considerable merit, though immeasurably below the lofty plane of the author of "My Dark Rosaleen." The atmosphere of the little office was, however, decidedly literary and therefore elevating—for in those days literature was not impregnated with the *abandon* of "Bohemia," as the term goes, nor was its tone that of questionable morality or wavering faith.

Wherever his elementary studies were carried on, there is no doubt about his more advanced ones. He entered the famous College of Maynooth when he had arrived at the adolescent age,[1] and there applied himself

to the task he had put before his mind with a determination that augured well for success. Love of study, exemplary piety, a quiet resolution, a close observance of rule were his distinguishing characteristics at a time of life when the youthful ideals are rarely associated with contemplative pursuits and when the activities of body and brain are so many incitements to abandon books and blow out the midnight lamp. His diligence and application were superior to any such temptations, had they ever presented themselves; and having triumphantly gone through his scholastic courses he was ordained to the sacred priesthood.

When it came to the young student to put away his text-books and assume the solemn robe of the priesthood, the prelate who consecrated him was one of those who were foremost in the eventful religious life of Ireland in her pre-Emancipation days. He was the eminent Archbishop Murray, of Dublin—he who played so prominent a part in undoing the mischief caused by Monsignor Quarantotti in Rome, on the subject of the proposed Veto for Ireland. The ordination ceremony was performed in the chapel of Maynooth College, on the 6th of March, 1832. He was appointed immediately to missionary work in the Cathedral parish in Dublin, but this lasted only a few months; and he then took ministerial service in the parish of Rathmines under a very distinguished priest, the Rev. Father O'Dwyer. It is stated that about this time Father Kenrick began to entertain the idea of going to Paris and entering the Lazarist order there, for the purpose of introducing that celebrated congregation into Irish religious life. But this project, if ever seriously entertained by the young priest, was soon abandoned for something perhaps more practical. The cry of "Westward Ho!" had not as yet been heard in books, but it resounded in the minds of

many young enthusiasts, especially Irish ones. While his mother was alive (his father had died while he was but a child, in the year 1817) he seemed to be undecided as to his course, for his attachment to her was intense. But she died soon after his ordination, and then, finding himself no longer fettered by loving ties, he yielded to the pressing requests of his brother and started for the American continent. When he arrived in Philadelphia he bore with him the following letter from Archbishop Murray:

"Dublin, 24th August, 1833.

"My Dear Lord: It would not be easy to give a more decided proof of my attachment for your Lordship's person, and the interest which I feel for the prosperity of your Church, than I do by placing at your Lordship's future disposal the services of your respected relative, the Rev. Peter Kenrick. I am given to understand that your Lordship desired his assistance, and even sent him money to defray his expenses to the destined scene of his future labors. He thinks, too, that the will of God calls him thither. I therefore surrender into your Lordship's hands all title which I have heretofore had to his canonical obedience, and I pray God to grant a blessing, under your Lordship's guidance, to the future exercise of his ministry. Were I giving him an ordinary *exeat* I would deem it right to give the attestation, which he so justly merits, of his zeal, talents, acquirements and virtue. To your Lordship such an attestation would be superfluous. I will therefore only pray your Lordship to be assured of the perfect esteem with which I have the honor to be, my dear Lord, your Lordship's faithful servant in Christ,

"D. MURRAY."

Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia, the presidency

of the Seminary having become vacant, as already described, the appointment was given to Father Peter Richard, and he was also given the rectorship of the Cathedral and subsequently the post of Vicar General of the diocese. After some little time he was sent for a few months to Pittsburg, where he labored most indefatigably in the mission field. The Rev. William Walsh, of St. Louis, who wrote a short sketch of his life immediately before his demise, one time heard him tell how, during this phase of his work, he was called upon to baptize no fewer than eighty infants, just after Mass and before he had broken his fast. In those early days of Catholic development, the life of the missionary priest in the United States was not seldom full of trials and strains, therein differing little in hardship from what Shakespeare calls "the flinty and steel couch of war." Volumes might be filled with recitals of the perils by land and sea, on the mountain and on the moor, encountered by those fearless priests who set out from the cities to plant the Church in the wilderness. This is not, however, the place or the opportunity to attempt such a task. But it is pertinent to observe that of all the phenomena which present themselves to the biographer of such men, the most surprising is the immense amount and splendid quality of the literary work produced in hours stolen from toil in the heavenly vineyard by some of the tireless great. Bishop England and the two Kenricks were prodigies in this regard. The amount of work which the latter did for the *Catholic Herald* cannot be estimated, since the greater portion of it was unsigned, but it was unquestionably very great. It was during the seven years of his missionary life that Peter Richard produced the more solid works which built up his fame as a spiritual writer and theologian—namely, the "Validity of Anglican Ordinations Examined," the

"New Month of Mary" and the "History of the Holy House of Loretto." The work on "Anglican Ordinations" was remarkable in its day as a forerunner of definite action to be taken later on, giving effect to the conclusions set forth by one who although young in years had the perspicuity and the learning of a sage and a father of the Church. His "New Month of Mary" was republished in London by Father Faber, and is still the best of its kind.

About the year 1840 a desire for a change to a more studious and less active religious life seemed to have come over the wearied missionary. His mind was attracted to the ways of the Jesuit order, and after long pondering on the matter he took steps to give shape to his inclinings. He left for Rome, and with the somewhat reluctant approval of his brother, with the intention of seeking admission into the famous society. But on his arrival in the sacred city he was obliged to abandon the design, owing to the dissuasion of the General of the order. A strange reason which is given as among those which led to his failure in this project throws a strong light upon the psychology of the future Archbishop. He carried with him some letters from his brother, but when he looked these over he thought them too laudatory of himself, and so he faltered and gave way easily enough when he found that his intention did not commend itself to the Jesuit Superior. The story reads curiously in an age when such extreme humility might be considered, by a certain school, as a personal drawback of the most serious kind, even in an ecclesiastic.

This failure seems to have caused Father Kenrick very keen disappointment. We find him bitterly deploring it in a letter to his brother, bearing the date September, 1840. It were curious to speculate what might have been the result on his theological views had the result

of his enterprise been otherwise than it actually was. It is certainly within the bounds of probability to surmise that the Vatican Council must have had one opponent of the dogma of Infallibility the less to deal with. Perhaps, were such the case, the advantage to religion might be more apparent than real. It is surely a wholesome thing for truth that the negative side of the highest proposition, in a sense, that could be submitted to the human intellect, for searching analysis, is sustained by argument of such force that it barely stops short of the level that convinces. With such minds as those of Kenrick and the rest of the little group who withstood the proposition ranged on the other side, the victors may have felt proud of the decision as the triumph of the morally irresistible. Theirs not

> The stern joy that warriors feel
> In foemen worthy of their steel,

but the noble satisfaction which the spirit of Christ imparts to brothers in His charity who lovingly emulate in zeal when the quest is for the truth of the Divine Master, and when that truth is found by the light of many minds outshining that of the few.

In his own way the Archbishop of Baltimore shared his brother's feelings toward the disciples of Loyola, as we find from many passages in his voluminous writings. His welcome of those of them who came to Baltimore was whole-hearted, for well he knew what a powerful impulse they brought with them to the cause of education, ecclesiastical and otherwise.

At the same time that the Archbishop was encouraging the Jesuits in their educational work he was not idle with regard to his own immediate responsibility in the same field. He threw his energies into the support of the Seminary in Baltimore, just as he did in the case of

that of Philadelphia, and was successful in the end in raising up a body of clergy for the service of the diocese who reflected honor upon the American Church.

Divine Providence had ordered that the field of Peter Richard Kenrick's labors should be in a wider sphere. Events were moving rapidly toward his settling down to his appointed though hitherto unsuspected work. The ground had been in some measure prepared, even before he had set out on his futile quest of a Jesuit vocation. Bishop Rosati, of St. Louis, had met his brother in Philadelphia, while looking about for a coadjutor for his own diocese; he had known Father Peter Richard by reputation, and he was convinced, from the conversation he had with the Bishop on the subject, that no more suitable coadjutor could be found. This view was confirmed by what he saw of Father Kenrick in Rome, shortly afterwards. The result was that he solicited the Holy See that he be given the man on whom he had set his heart for his assistant. Impressed with his plea, the Holy See deferred to the request and in a short time the Bulls of appointment were made out. By their terms the Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick was appointed Bishop of Drasa and Coadjutor Bishop of St. Louis, with the right of succession in the see. Both the Bishops left Rome together. They arrived in Boston on the 18th of November, 1841, and twelve days afterwards the consecration of the new prelate was performed in Philadelphia. Bishop Rosati acted as the consecrating prelate, and the brother of the subject, together with Bishop Lefevre, of Detroit, were the assistant Bishops. The famous Bishop England, of Charleston, preached the sermon on the memorable occasion.

At Cape Girardeau, Mo., the new Bishop rested for a few days, and when the Christmas festival was over he set out for his destination. His friend, Bishop Rosati,

had parted from him ere this, to undertake a mission which was to prove fatal to his health. This was the arrangement of certain difficulties which had sprung up between the Government and the Church in the Republic of Hayti—a task of no ordinary difficulty, it would appear, as we find that Bishop England had also been engaged in it some time before, as also Dr. Clancy, who had been coadjutor to Bishop England. While engaged in this delicate business Bishop Rosati contracted a disease which ultimately proved mortal, but not before he had time to return to Rome and report progress. What he had done in the island was considered so satisfactory that he was honored with the office of Assistant Prelate at the Pontifical Throne; and he was further commissioned to return to Hayti and complete the work. Accordingly he set forth to execute the mandate. He traveled from Rome to Paris with the late Pope Leo, then Apostolic Nuncio to Belgium. But he was never to fulfil his mission. He was seized with illness in Paris, and ordered by his physicians to return to Italy as the only means of saving his life. He obeyed, but it was too late. The end came to the good Bishop on the 25th of September, 1843, in Rome.

Meanwhile the new spiritual overseer of St. Louis was busy wrestling with difficulties most formidable and perplexing. The diocese was in bad shape in almost every way when he assumed control. There was a very large debt on the Cathedral. This was the only church in the city, besides the little chapel of St. Aloysius, utilized by the Jesuits of St. Louis University. This large debt was a source of such concern to the new Bishop that at one portion of his early pastorate he became discouraged to the extent of thinking of relinquishing his charge and removing to the city of Pittsburg, which had not as yet been made an episcopal centre, but was

spoken of as soon likely to be. But he quickly got over this momentary discouragement and roused himself to face the situation with calmness and in a practical spirit. He called a meeting of the foremost Catholics, in order to consider how the debt on the Cathedral was to be liquidated; but the meeting did nothing. Then he called another, after a short interval, and the only result was an offer of twenty-five dollars from one man! Then Dr. Kenrick saw he must adopt other measures. He must take off his coat to the work, so to speak; and having made up his mind to do so, resolved to succeed as well. Unaccustomed wholly to business undertakings, he suddenly developed an instinct and an aptitude for such matters that surprised every one about him. He went into the real estate investment business, and so successfully for several years that he was soon enabled to lift the debt from his Cathedral. Not content with this feat, he began the building of new churches and orphanages and other charitable edifices, the money for which he derived from a large number of stores and dwelling houses which he had erected on the ground he purchased. The success which attended the enterprise of the new Bishop was the theme on every tongue. Like Midas, he seemed to have the power of turning all he touched into gold. He was assisted by at least one wealthy family. These were Irish immigrants, and their name deserves to be recorded because of the generous and effective help they gave to the elevation of the St. Louis diocese. It was Mullanphy. One of the family especially, Mrs. Anne Biddle, made large donations for religious purposes out of her estate. But the greatest benefactor was Mrs. Anne Hunt, a lady of French extraction. Another circumstance which enabled the Bishop to realize his noble ambition was the trust reposed in him by the class of immigrants. There being

no reliable banking system at that time, he was made the depository of large amounts. He was universally looked up to, and he was enabled by judicious investment of the funds to improve his property and make it all the more remunerative. Another great benefactor he found at a later period in the person of a local gentleman named Thornton. He made to the St. Louis diocese a bequest of over $300,000, and so enabled the enterprising Bishop to carry on his banking enterprises with perfect confidence and spirit.

There ensued a time of trial when, during the Civil War, Congress passed the measure known as the Legal Trade Act. The effect of this law was a tremendous depreciation in the value of all kinds of property, landed estate and real estate in the shape of stocks. The Archbishop did not think himself justified in doing what many others did. He would pay his indebtedness, not in depreciated paper money, but in gold coin. By so doing he paid two dollars for all others' one, but he satisfied his conscience. Desiring to discontinue the custom of receiving deposits and to pay off all who had money in his care, he put on the market a large portion of the real estate of the diocese, in the years 1867 and 1868. He was fortunate in so doing, however, for the value of all kinds of property soon afterwards underwent a great decline.

The fact that prelates of the Catholic Church have been a good deal mixed up in such affairs, in the early stage of its development here, has often elicited unfavorable comment, even from Catholics. But the truth is that there was no avoiding such a course in many cases. None—Bishop Rosati had taken deposits before the arrival of Bishop Kenrick, who only continued the practice—were so trusted as they; few had equal training or acumen; they were looked up to with the most absolute

trustfulness by every class, Catholic or non-Catholic. But some of them were utterly unfitted for business or any kind of money transaction whatever. These knew not the value of money at all: were still more indifferent in regard to it—as in the case of Francis Patrick Kenrick, who, were it not for the care and watchfulness of such friends as Mr. Frenaye, and his own determination to avoid debt as much as possible, must have been constantly in trouble about the financial side of the vast undertakings essential to the extension of religion in his diocese. It can hardly be said that any one is justified in undertaking a fiduciary office unless he have business capacity at least equal to the requirements of the trust; and in this respect there were some who were not free from the charge of recklessness. Still, even these could hardly evade the responsibility, so insistent were those who came to them to seek a secure banking place for their savings. The St. Louis prelate took care to have sufficient real estate the sale of which would pay his depositors, with interest, and this he subsequently did.

When we behold in the same Church, working successfully for its extension and uplifting, men of no business capacity and men of the shrewdest intellect, equal in piety, but wofully unequal in mental disposition, we cannot help being struck by the rule of variety which obtains in every sphere of this visible existence. Variety is the rule in God's garden, as in that of the horticulturist. And this variety is not the price of the depreciation of some and the exaltation of others. Beauty is seen here existent in itself, not the artificial effect of contrast with a foil. The man whose saintliness of thought and habit leads him so far from things of earth as to make him lose the sense of their just value as a means of promoting God's work must not be accounted, without injustice, as of greater holiness than the earnest laborer whose

more robust ways of looking at life inspire him with practical ideas as to "ways and means." If a special Providence seem to guard the footsteps of the unwary, whose seeming vacant eyes are fixed on celestial things, will any dare aver that less merit belongs to him whose earnest prayer goes hand in hand with the no less earnest act? In the case of the brothers Kenrick there was a marked distinction in their idiosyncrasies in this respect. While the elder brother never seemed to trouble about the means of subsistence or of accomplishing works necessary, in his mind, for the fulfilment of his great task, the younger never suffered himself to be deluded into the attempt to "make bricks without straw." And, with these different views and various methods, both were equally successful in the long run. The flower that climbs and the flower that blooms lowly beside the garden wall offer equal incense up to heaven.

If the physical geography of his diocese did not offer to Peter Richard Kenrick obstacles so formidable as those of the more Alpine see of Philadelphia, in its earlier form, to his brother, they were still not only arduous and fatiguing to overcome, but at times positively perilous to life. Its area was immense. It embraced the whole extent of Missouri and Arkansas, as well as half of Illinois. In making his visitation the Bishop had therefore to make a journey not much inferior in circuit and physical impediment to that of Marco Polo to China, in the Middle Ages. The means of travel were just as primitive; the roads probably as bad in places as those of Central Asia at that time; the rivers to be crossed far more numerous and dangerous. These often had to be forded or swum; sometimes while full of ice-floes, sometimes when suddenly swollen into fierce torrents by the rains. Bishop Kenrick, on one occasion at least, was well nigh lost. While fording a

stream he would have been swept away were it not for the strength and readiness of his traveling companion, the Rev. Father Thomas Cusack. For hundreds of miles the journey had to be made on horseback, or else in rough conveyances; and the only accommodation available at night time was what some rough log cabin or boarded sheeling, with the humblest of owners, afforded. The labors of a Bishop, in many an American diocese, were every year as full of toil, and often of danger as well, as those of the early frontier commanders in the frequently recurring military campaigns.

Besides the dangers from flood and storm and precipitous mountain road, there were some still more terrible to be faced in certain dioceses. There was, for instance, the dreaded scourge, the yellow fever. This claimed Bishops, priests and nuns alike, in numbers greater than ever can be properly known. One of its victims was the devoted friend of the two Kenricks, Bishop Barron, who had been for some years the president of St. Charles' Seminary in Philadelphia. From thence he had been despatched to the deadly African clime, to act as Vicar Apostolic of the colony of Liberia. On his return he proceeded to St. Louis and took up a course of missionary work in different districts. Worn out with incessant labor in the teaching class and the ministerial and evangelical field, Dr. Barron retired at length to Florida, thinking to spend there the evening of a well spent life. This was in the year 1849. But this was not his destiny. He was aroused from his peaceful dream by the call of duty. In 1854 there was a terrible outbreak of yellow fever in Savannah, Georgia. Bishop Gartland, the ordinary, was calling for help, and like a true Christian knight the veteran soldier again sprang to his arms. He went to Savannah and at once began the work of ministering to the sick and moribund, in

conjunction with the local Bishop and clergy. Both fell on this field of honor. Bishop Barron was the first to be stricken. He died on the 12th of September, 1854. Bishop Gartland followed his soul in its flight eight days afterward.

Dr. Barron and Father Sourin were two men whose lives were closely intertwined with the life and work of the brothers Kenrick. It is worthy of note that the last memorandum made by Bishop Gartland was addressed to Father Sourin. It was dated September 5; but the writer had left it unfinished. The previous one, dated August 23-25, had mentioned the arrival of Bishop Barron and the fact of his plunging into the work of assistance. It indicated the writer's wish that Mr. Frenaye should be told of it, and asked to get the prayers of friends for the imperiled.

These digressions are unavoidable, when the task in hand is to illustrate the difficulties and risks of the pastoral office—the dangers to the material frame and the still more trying ones of the mind and spirit.

CHAPTER II.

DEATH OF BISHOP ROSATI—BISHOP KENRICK IN SOLE CHARGE OF ST. LOUIS DIOCESE—STARTS A CATHOLIC PUBLICATION—EARLY ORDINATIONS—CHURCH EXPANSION—VISITATION OF CHOLERA—ST. LOUIS ELEVATED INTO ARCHIEPISCOPAL RANK—FIRST PLENARY COUNCIL OF BALTIMORE—HIGH OPINION OF ARCHBISHOP PETER RICHARD—HE CONSECRATES MANY NEW BISHOPS.

The death of Bishop Rosati, in the September of 1843, transferred to Bishop Kenrick the full responsibility of the St. Louis diocese; previously he had acted only as coadjutor and administrator. Now he was about to enter on that long career of spiritual guardianship which his lamented predecessor had, with curious prevision, indicated for him ere setting out for Rome. One of the greatest needs of the diocese, he thought, was a Catholic organ, and this he sought to supply. The *Catholic Cabinet* was started for the purpose of affording good literary sustenance as well as reliable information on subjects of Catholic interest. It was a monthly publication, excellent in quality and variety of contents, and written for by some of the best pens in the Catholic fold. Still, with all these recommendations, it did not prove a monetary success. We need not wonder at such a result at that early period, since it is with the utmost difficulty that Catholic literature, magazines or newspapers can be made self-supporting in our own day, notwithstanding the earnest exhortation of Popes and Bishops to the faithful as to the necessity and duty of maintaining such an antidote against the evil influence of an ever-degener-

ating secular press. The *Catholic Cabinet* succumbed after a couple of years of ill-appreciated but admirable effort, and the diocese of St. Louis was left without any Catholic organ for a long period.

The first ordination held by Bishop Kenrick was that of Father James Tiernan, of the Lazarists. This took place in the May of 1842, in the Barrens Church. In August of the same year he ordained, in the same church, the Rev. Joseph Kuenster, the Rev. Patrick McCabe and the Rev. Thomas Cusack. In September, 1843, he ordained several Jesuit candidates, among them the Rev. Arnold Damen, a priest who had a long career as a successful missionary in many parts of the United States, and the Rev. Peter James Aernoudt, author of the famous work, the "Imitation of the Sacred Heart," and one of the most zealous and able promoters of the devotion founded on it. The want of priests soon induced him to take steps to secure help from Europe, since, while the diocese was rapidly growing in population, the clerical garrison remained stationary as to number. The Very Rev. Joseph Melcher was sent forth to seek aid, and was successful in procuring four priests and eight seminarians, with whom he returned to St. Louis in the year 1847. Want of churches was no less an obstacle than scarcity of clergy. The German element in the diocese was very considerable, and this fact brought help from the Leopold Association in the provision of church accommodation. The Lazarists began to build the Church of St. Vincent de Paul, and about the same time the Bishop found himself able to commence another one in honor of St. Patrick. This was begun in March, 1844, and finished by May in the following year. About the same time the Jesuit Fathers took a hand in the work of church building. They began the erection of St. Joseph's in April, 1844, and had it

dedicated by the summer of 1846. It was for the use of the German Catholics. Outside the city limits the work began also to spread. At Carondelet, Independence, St. Joseph, Marshall, Washington and Liberty the erection of temples of worship was undertaken about this epoch. Corresponding efforts to meet Catholic wants began to be put forth by the religious Sisterhoods. The Visitation Nuns, driven from their old settlement at Kaskaskia by a frightful inundation which blotted out their convent, came into St. Louis and set up a new one there. After a little while they joined forces with another colony of the order, already established in the city, and in a new and spacious convent carried on the work of religious education. A calamity of a different kind—a conflagration—had overtaken the Sisters of St. Joseph at Carondelet, and they also came into the city to take up the work of rescuing the fallen and despairing. About the same time the Sisters of Charity were enabled to open a new orphanage, of ample dimensions, as well as the new school of St. Vincent, to which the State soon granted a charter. The work of expansion thus begun went on almost without interruption. It was not long until the Sisters of the Good Shepherd arrived to take part in the rescue of the poor fallen women of the city, and after these came a colony of Ursulines from Raab, in Hungary, to devote themselves to the work of education.

Nor was it long until the blessing of having such religious in their midst was demonstrated to the inhabitants of St. Louis. A visitation similar to that which befell the Quaker City in 1832 overtook the district. The dreaded scourge, cholera, broke out, and, as usual, the heroic Sisterhoods were foremost in the work of succor. Thirteen hundred patients were taken care of by the Sisters of Charity, in their hospital, and though some

of their own community succumbed at their posts, the lives of more than half the stricken were saved through their splendid ministrations. The names of two of the victims are preserved—Sister Columba and Sister Patricia Butler. Two Sisters of St. Joseph also fell; likewise four of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, as well as one of the Visitandines.

In the year after the holding of the Baltimore Council (at which the Bishop of St. Louis attended) by a brief of His Holiness Pope Pius IX. the diocese of St. Louis was raised in dignity, and Peter Richard Kenrick became its first Archbishop. The brief was dated 8th October, 1847. In September of the following year he received the pallium at the hands of his brother in St. John's Cathedral in Philadelphia. In 1849, at the seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, suffragan Bishops were named in a petition to the Holy See, viz., those of Dubuque, Nashville, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul; and the prayer of the petition was granted. In February of the same year the Vice Provincial of the Society of Jesus, Very Rev. James O. Van de Velde, was consecrated Bishop of Chicago, in the Cathedral of St. Louis, by the Archbishop.

A synod of the new archdiocese assembled, pursuant to summons issued on the 25th of May, 1850, in the Cathedral, on Sunday, the 25th of August following. Forty-three priests attended. Besides promulgating the decrees of the Provincial Councils and the statutes of the first Synod of St. Louis, the meeting transacted important local business in the shape of regulations as to burial service, bequests, Requiem Masses, the maintenance of the diocesan seminary, Church holidays, the tenure of Church property and many other details of clerical life. Trustees were appointed to carry out the wishes of the Rev. Francis Cellini, who had left a large

bequest for the founding of a home for aged and enfeebled priests of the diocese.

About this time the Archbishop made a fresh attempt to found a local Catholic organ, and established the *Catholic News Letter*. Subsequently he revived the name of a weekly paper carried on a good many years previously by Bishop Rosati. It was called the *Shepherd of the Valley*. He invited Mr. Robert A. Bakewell, a Pittsburg resident, to come to St. Louis and take charge of it. Mr. Bakewell was an editor of great ability and force of character, and did excellent work for the few years in which he occupied that position.[2]

The chief consecrations and ordinations performed by the Archbishop up to this point may here be grouped together for the sake of biographical convenience, since no striking incidents differentiated each of these from the other:

In 1850 he went to Bardstown, Ky., and on the 10th of November consecrated Right Rev. John McGill, Bishop of Richmond, Va. The consecration ceremonies were performed in St. Joseph's Church, Bardstown, the church in which the brother of the Archbishop had long officiated as a priest. Bishop McGill died after a long and useful life on January 14, 1872.

The consecration of the Right Rev. John B. Miege came next in the order of episcopal consecrations performed by the Archbishop. It took place in the College Church, St. Louis, on the 25th of March, 1851. He was consecrated Bishop of Messenia and Vicar Apostolic of Kansas. Like Bishop Van de Velde, he had been a Jesuit, and like him had been connected with the St. Louis University. After many years of hard and faithful service as Vicar Apostolic, he resigned and returned to his order. He died on the 21st of July, 1884, in Detroit, Mich.

Towards the end of July, 1853, he went to Milwaukee to assist at the dedication of Bishop Henni's new and beautiful Cathedral Church. Here he met Archbishops Hughes and Purcell and Monsignor Bedini. The dedication was performed by Monsignor Bedini, an Italian prelate.

On the 25th of July, 1854, in St. Louis Cathedral, the Archbishop officiated at the consecration of his old friend and former fellow student in Maynooth College, the Right Rev. Anthony O'Reagan, Bishop of Chicago. Very Rev. James Duggan, one of the Vicars General of the diocese, preached on the occasion. Bishop O'Reagan came to the Archdiocese of St. Louis on December 15, 1849. He was President of the Diocesan Seminary until his consecration.

Two Provincial Councils had been held in St. Louis. The first began on the 7th and ended on the 14th of October, 1855. The second began on the 5th and ended on the 12th of September, 1858. At both Councils the Archbishop presided as metropolitan, and the Bishops of the province assisted either in person or by their delegates. Another Council was called by the Archbishop for May, 1861, but the great Civil War was just beginning, and the Archbishop thought it better to postpone the holding of the Council.

On the 3d of May, 1857, the Archbishop consecrated in the Cathedral his first Coadjutor, the Right Rev. James Duggan, Bishop of Antigone, *in partibus infidelium* with the right of succession. Bishop Duggan had been Administrator of the Diocese of Chicago just previous to the consecration of Bishop O'Reagan, and one of the Vicars General of the Diocese of St. Louis. He remained as Coadjutor to the Archbishop for about thirteen months, when he returned to Chicago as Administrator. He filled the office of Administrator until his

promotion to the See of Chicago on the 21st of January, 1859. He had never been a man of robust health. In March, 1869, his health failed him completely, and he was retired from the administration of the Diocese of Chicago.

Along with Bishop Duggan was consecrated Right Rev. Clement Smith, Coadjutor to the Right Rev. Matthias Loras, Bishop of Dubuque. He had been a monk of the severe order of the Trappists. In February, 1858, on the death of the Venerable Bishop Loras, he became Bishop of the Diocese of Dubuque. He died on the 23d of September, 1865.

In 1859 three Bishops were consecrated in the St. Louis Cathedral, the Archbishop acting as consecrator. The Bishops consecrated were Right Rev. James Whelan, Right Rev. James O'Gorman and Right Rev. Thomas L. Grace. The first two were consecrated on Sunday, May 8, the last on July 24. However, on the death of Bishop Miles on the 1st of February, 1860, the latter became Bishop of Nashville. He was a Dominican. After governing the Diocese of Nashville for about four years he resigned and retired to a convent of his order. He died in 1878.

Bishop O'Gorman was a monk of the Trappist order and a fellow religious of Bishop Smith in the Iowa Monastery of New Melleray. He was consecrated Bishop of Raphanea and Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska. He died in 1874.

Right Rev. Thomas L. Grace was the immediate successor of the Apostolic Bishop Cretin, of St. Paul, Minn. Like Bishop Whelan he had been a Dominican and had for some time been stationed at St. Peter's Church, Memphis, Tenn. He was an excellent preacher. After a long and faithful service in St. Paul, he resigned his diocese into the hands of his Coadjutor, Bishop Ireland.

The Right Rev. Patrick A. Feehan, appointed to the See of Nashville, Tenn., was the last of the Bishops consecrated in the old St. Louis Cathedral, the Archbishop officiating as consecrating prelate. He was consecrated on the 1st November, 1865, the thirteenth anniversary of his ordination as priest. Bishop Feehan made his theological studies in Maynooth College and came here, a sub-deacon, in the middle of October, 1852. He was ordained priest by the Archbishop on the following 1st of November, the feast of All Saints. During the thirteen years that he remained in the diocese of St. Louis he filled various offices of honor and responsibility, among them that of President of the Diocesan Seminary and consecutively that of pastor of St. Michael's and of the Immaculate Conception Church. He governed the diocese of Nashville for fifteen years, or until the 10th of September, 1880, when he was created the first Archbishop of Chicago. He died in 1903.

On the 30th of September, 1866, Right Rev. John Hennessy, who had been for many years of the diocese of St. Louis, was consecrated Bishop of Dubuque, Iowa, by the Archbishop, in St. Raphael's Cathedral, of the same city, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Smith the preceding year. Bishop Hennessy came to St. Louis from Ireland, a student, about 1847. He made his philosophical and theological studies partly with the Lazarists at St. Vincent's Church, and partly in the Diocesan Seminary at Carondelet. He was ordained priest on the 1st of November, 1850. Among the priests who imposed hands upon him on the day of his ordination was the great Father Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance. After exercising the functions of the ministry in New Madrid and Kirkwood, in the diocese of St. Louis, he became Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Diocesan Seminary, a position which he filled for

three years. He was then President of the Seminary for one year, when he was commissioned by the Archbishop and the Suffragan Bishops to bear the decrees of the Second Provincial Council of St. Louis to Rome. He remained away one year. For six years before his consecration he was pastor at St. Joseph, Mo. Bishop Hennessy had always been a great reader and a great student, and was therefore a learned man. As a preacher, he was amongst the most eloquent in the country. He died in 1902.

In 1852 the Archbishop proceeded to Baltimore as a member of the first Plenary Council. His brother, the metropolitan of Baltimore, was here the president as Apostolic Delegate. The representative of St. Louis seems to have made a profound impression at that illustrious gathering by his learning, his logical style and his strong individuality. It is related by Father William Walsh that the president of St. Louis Diocesan Seminary, Father O'Reagan, who was present at the council as official theologian, said Archbishop Peter Richard had no superior among all the Bishops there. It was the lot of the speaker that he should be raised to the episcopal dignity himself, and the hand that consecrated him should be that of the prelate whose eminence extorted from him such exalted praise. Father O'Reagan had been for several years a student in Maynooth, and a theologian and Scripture scholar of the front rank; but, unlike his friend, he did not unite with this qualification those talents that enabled the theologian to become the statesman and the able administrator, as the average American Bishop was called on to be—the builder of a new diocese, the financier, the seer who could anticipate and provide for coming great possibilities He was consecrated Bishop of Chicago, but he only held the post for a little while, as it was found that he was unfitted for

the difficult and arduous duties that devolved upon him. The Holy See transferred him to the titular Bishopric of Dora, and he died in Ireland in a little while afterwards. As president of the St. Louis Diocesan Seminary he had enacted the part for which he was best qualified by temperament and character; for any other sphere such painstaking natures as the class-room of a seminary demands are usually unsuitable.

The diocese of Chicago seems to have been in those pioneer days a crucial one for any but the most robust in physical no less than moral fibre. The Rev. James Duggan, a scholar, a preacher and a priest of exalted standing, had acted as Administrator to that see previous to the arrival of Bishop O'Reagan. He had been also acting as one of the Vicars General of the St. Louis diocese. It was in 1857 he was consecrated by the Archbishop of St. Louis as Bishop of Antigone and first Coadjutor Bishop of St. Louis, with the right of succession. In this capacity he remained for more than a year, when he was requested by Archbishop Kenrick to return to Chicago in his old office of Administrator. Soon he was given the Bishopric of the see. This was in 1859. Ten years of work in it sufficed to undermine his health so completely that he was withdrawn from the operose but honorable task. His once brilliant mind had become enfeebled, and though he was sent abroad to the best spas and recuperative resorts, he never recovered the mastery of himself and had to be placed in a sanitarium. The difficulties of his see must have had no small share in the causes of this pitiable breakdown.

Other prelates more fortunate, and whose names were destined to become famous, were among those consecrated by Archbishop Kenrick in the first twenty years of his sway. First of these were Bishop Smith, Coadjutor to the Bishop of Dubuque; the Right Rev. Matthias

Loras; Bishop Whelan, of Nashville; Bishop O'Gorman, of Raphanea and Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, and Bishop Grace, of St. Paul, Minnesota. As above stated, both Dr. Smith and Dr. O'Gorman had been monks of the renowned ascetic order of Trappists. In their new sphere they both proved that the restraint of silence imposed in the monastery had not impaired their powers of noble speech in the pulpit. Bishop O'Gorman's homiletic gifts were exceptionally distinguished.

Still later on the list of those who rose to eminence after the imposition of hands by Archbishop Kenrick was swelled by two notable ones. The late metropolitan of Chicago, Dr. Patrick A. Feehan, received the sacred gift in the Cathedral of St. Louis, on the 1st of November, 1865, as Bishop of Nashville. He was the last of those who were consecrated in the Cathedral by the same reverend hands. In September, 1866, the no less eminent Dr. John Hennessy received the mitre from the Archbishop in the Cathedral of St. Raphael, in Dubuque. It is not a little remarkable that these two whose consecration was so close in order of time should have observed a similar rule in regard to their demise. Only a brief interval separated them when each departed on his eternal journey. Archbishop Hennessy, reversing the order of things, was the first to lay down his dignity, as Archbishop Feehan was the first to take his up. To the last the Dubuque prelate retained the power and charm of sacred oratory which had made him renowned among a splendid band, since the beginning of his clerical career. Although feeble in movement and exhibiting the trace of years, he preached the jubilee sermon for the Archbishop of Philadelphia, in April of 1896, with a splendor and an impressiveness most remarkable in one who was then 75 years old.

It is pertinent here to notice Archbishop Hennessy's

master-passion, so to speak. Archbishop Ryan, his life-long friend, speaking his funeral oration, eloquently dwelt upon the point. He said:

"Archbishop Hennessy's mission in general was similar to that of all other Catholic Bishops, but it seemed to me that he had a special mission in regard to Christian education. This his priests realized, and when the book containing the account of his silver jubilee in 1891 was published, it was inscribed to him as 'The great apostle of the American Catholic parochial school.' But his zeal for Christian education was not only for the advance of the Catholic Church, though this was his prime motive, but he was profoundly convinced that it was essential to the stability and permanence of the State also.

"It was objected to him that the contrary sentiment, that which favored unsectarian education, had taken such possession of the mind and heart of the country that it were folly to battle against it and Catholics must be content to do what other denominations do, come into line and submit. With his conviction of the essential connection of Christianity with Christian education, such an argument could but intensify his resolves. I can well understand how your father and my dear deceased friend, with such convictions, consecrated his life and the splendid eloquence with which God had blessed him above his fellows, to the promotion of Christian education.

"I am convinced that the day will come when the American people will fully realize this true position in regard to education, and that time will but add glory to the name and the fame of the men who stood in the breach and contended for the right."

CHAPTER III.

APPROACH OF THE CIVIL WAR CLOUD—THE ARCHBISHOP'S PRUDENCE—HIS FIRM STAND AGAINST THE DRAKE. TEST LAW—TRIUMPH OVER THE ZEALOTS—SENDS HIS RESIGNATION TO THE PROPAGANDA OVER A LOCAL SCANDAL, BUT THE TROUBLE AVERTED—TRYING AND PAINFUL INCIDENTS—ORDINATIONS AND CONSECRATIONS BY THE ARCHBISHOP.

The second Provincial Council was held in St. Louis on the 19th of September, 1858, the Archbishop presiding. There also attended the Bishops of Nashville, Milwaukee, Santa Fé, Alton and Dubuque, together with the Vicar Apostolic of Indian Territory and the Administrator of St. Paul. The decrees formulated for presentation to the Holy Father embraced one regarding clandestine marriages, asking that the ruling of the Council of Trent on this subject be declared to be nowhere in force in the St. Louis province, because of some doubts to to what places in particular the Decree was canonically published in. Several important rules for the clergy as well as arrangements regarding marriages were enacted at this Council.

Hitherto the course of the Archbishop, though not free from difficulties, had been smooth sailing as compared with that of his brother when he was called on to take charge of the Philadelphia diocese. But now he was approaching a season when rocks and shoals and whirling waters were to trouble him and when his skill as a navigator was to be tested, even to the straining point. The Civil War began to project its vast shadow as it loomed from out the dreaded future. It was pre-

ceded by a cloud of controversies, all springing from the single grand storm centre of slavery. The right to hold slaves and the right to secede were the issues that under protean forms began to stir the minds and tongues and pens of all men with more or less vehemence. The Archbishop's views were decided enough on both subjects, as they usually were on every question that demanded consideration and discussion. But he did not obtrude them upon others, nor give any public expression to them, observing all through the years of trial the prudent attitude that was the general characteristic of the Catholic hierarchy, on whose every utterance and line of writing the attention of jealous enemies was constantly riveted. For two years, after the outbreak of the war, the Archbishop entirely abstained from preaching, since it was found that no matter how any prelate or priest might deliver himself in the pulpit, his words might be distorted or made to bear some hidden meaning.

No one could charge that this prudence arose from any sentiment of fear, save the fear of doing that which would be morally wrong. When duty called for sterner courses the Archbishop could be as firm as àBecket. Human respect or fear of consequences never for a moment swayed him where the law of the State stood between him and his conscience, as it attempted to do when revenge and panic joined forces in the South after the Confederacy had been driven to the wall. Copying the evil ways of the Old World, the triumphant Unionists began to persecute under the guise of precaution. In the State of Missouri this persecution took the form of a test oath, as embodied in an instrument called the Drake Constitution, after its inventor, a lawyer of St. Louis. The test oath was prescribed for all ministers of religion. They were not to be permitted to discharge

their clerical duty in any public way unless they had subscribed to a declaration which was in its terms insulting to either layman or cleric. Against this malignant law the Archbishop directly set his face. He sent a circular letter to all his clergy informing them they must not regard the law in any way, but proceed with their duties just as though it had never been either passed or promulgated. The clergy cheerfully obeyed. Two of them in particular stood firmer than even the Archbishop suggested. One, the Rev. Dr. Hogan, afterwards Bishop of Kansas City, was arrested. While the others, when arrested, gave bonds for their appearance at trial, he walked through the streets of Chillicothe as a prisoner, though known as a strong, loyal Union man. The other, the Rev. John A. Cummings, pastor of Louisiana, Mo., refused to do so, and said he would go to jail in preference. He was sent to jail, but the Archbishop determined to stand by him and test the validity of the oath as a high public duty. This he did by appealing the case from the Circuit Court to the Supreme Court of the State. There, however, the judges, being creatures of the arbitrary zealots then in power, decided against the priest. But this repulse did not daunt the Archbishop. He resorted to the Supreme Court of the United States, taking the ground that the oath was an infraction of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution; and this view was, in the end, sustained by the judges who composed that eminent tribunal. This was probably the most important issue ever submitted to the high tribunal of the nation, because of the precedent which was sought to be established on the one side and the other. It was a costly triumph, however. The legal expenses amounted to nearly ten thousand dollars, all of which the Archbishop himself paid.

The same stern inflexibility in integrity characterized

the Archbishop when called upon to maintain the discipline of his office and assert its authority. In a painful episode that arose in his diocese, wherein a charge of immorality had been advanced against one of the priests, he found his action in suspending him reversed by the final decision given in Rome, whither the accused priest had taken it. The Archbishop, believing that his decision was correct, sent to the Propaganda his resignation, so keenly did he feel over the matter, but the matter was finally disposed of, as the priest left the diocese.

An incident that occurred in the summer of 1863 illustrated the critical state of the times for the Catholic body. There was a mission going on at Hannibal, in the St. Louis diocese, and the commander of the troops assembled there, Colonel Kutzner, served a notice on the pastor, Father Ledwith, that he would stop all services in the church until the national flag, as an evidence of the loyalty of his congregation, had been raised above the entrance. When we consider the unselfishness of the services which were being rendered the Union soldiers by the Catholic Sisterhoods during this terrible period, as well as those of the army chaplains, and the priceless help of many of the Catholic hierarchy in the maintenance of the Union, conduct of this kind seems strangely out of keeping with ordinary human nature

Archbishop Kenrick's conception of the priestly life and its lofty responsibilities was elevating to all who heard it, from time to time, expounded. In his own action and demeanor, when going through the sacred ceremonials and mysteries of his great office he interpreted that conception in a manner that ever profoundly impressed all beholders and participants. The air breathed of his recollection; his manner, while not rapt, was that of complete detachment from the material life; it was exaltation in a state of perfect consciousness. His

idea of the priestly office has been succinctly epitomized in the brief sketch of a retreat and an address by the Archbishop furnished to Father Walsh by one of the St. Louis pastors. It would be difficult to discover a more effective crystallization of the ideals and purposes of the sacred ministry than those pregnant sentences convey:

"On the morning that the retreat terminated, His Grace arrived at 5.30, celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and administered Holy Communion to those clergymen who had performed the exercises of the retreat. At the end of the Mass, he desired his chaplain to open the Missal and to hold it for him whilst he read in the vernacular the Lesson read in the Mass of the day, the feast of the Dedication of Churches, taken from the Apocalypse, xxi., 2-5. 'In those days I saw the city, the New Jerusalem coming down from heaven, from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a voice from the throne, saying: Behold the Tabernacle of God with men and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God Himself with them shall be their God; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow shall be any more, for the former things are passed away. And he that sat on the throne said: Behold I make all things new.' And continuing the Archbishop said: 'Coming down this morning I was forcibly reminded of that coincidence in the Book of Kings where the Prophet, wearied with the journey of life, sat down to rest. And in his weariness he fell asleep, and whilst he slept an angel awaked him, and on awaking, he found beside him a pitcher of water and a hearth-cake, and the angel said: "Eat, drink and be refreshed, for thy years may yet be many." So you, too, my friends, like the Prophet, may from time

to time be wearied with the journey of life. Your duty and your priestly labors are trying and manifold. The various and onerous duties of the priest are very frequently a severe test, both of the physical as well as of the spiritual condition of his being. So you, too, may be wearied with the journey of life. But you have come to this retreat in order that you may gain renewed strength for the performance of your many religious obligations. And you have come this morning to the Tabernacle of God to eat of the Bread of Life, not indeed at the invitation of an angel, but at the command of Jesus Christ. You have come at His command to eat, drink and be refreshed, for your years of priestly usefulness may yet be many. There is no condition of life, no matter how exalted, that does not carry with it a corresponding share of difficulties and privations. And whilst the priestly office is the most exalted one on earth, because the priest is the Embassador of Christ and the Dispenser of the Mysteries of God, and performs functions that the angels cannot perform, he is human still, and therefore liable to physical and even moral defections. Hence you have come to this retreat in order to commune more closely with your Creator, and thereby gain more strength for the great work to which Almighty God has called you. "For you have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you, that you go, and bear fruit, and that your fruit may remain." How sacred, then, the work committed to your care, for to you is given the exalted authority and power of continuing the work of Christ, committed by Him to the Apostles, and to you, as their successors, at the moment of your elevation to the dignity of the priesthood. And whilst you are thus commissioned to be the bearers of the glad tidings of salvation, and to administer the sacred rites of the Church to those entrusted to your pastoral charge, you act wisely in not

neglecting your own personal sanctification. And it is for this especial purpose that you have come to this retreat, that you may thus perfect and adorn your own souls abundantly with grace and virtue before imparting those attributes to the souls of others. For sometimes there is reason to fear that whilst we aid others to attain the priceless boon of eternal salvation, we may neglect ourselves. But with you, your presence here this morning assures me it is different, assures me that whilst you do all in your power to aid your respective flock to attain salvation, you at the same time neglect not your own spiritual interests. Let me, then, congratulate you at the close of this retreat. And as you have now fortified yourselves at the altar of God with the Bread of Life, He says to each one of you what the angel said to the Prophet, "Eat, drink and be refreshed, for your years may yet be many." I pray, then, that your years of usefulness may be prolonged, that you may fulfill in every respect to the best of your ability the varied duties committed to your trust, and in the end that you may obtain for yourselves eternal salvation.' "

CHAPTER IV.

SECOND PLENARY COUNCIL OF BALTIMORE—NOTABLE SERMON BY ARCHBISHOP PETER RICHARD. HIS SILVER JUBILEE—VISIT TO ROME—RETURNING, GOES TO DUBLIN AND RECEIVES A PLEASANT GREETING.

In 1866 was held the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore. It lasted for a fortnight—from the 7th until the 21st of October. The Archbishop was one of the most notable figures at the gathering. He was the last of the prelates and priests who preached to the assembly, and his discourse, as it appears amongst the official reports given in a special volume devoted to these deliverances, is brief. But it is eminently deserving of an attentive consideration, inasmuch as the reader will find in its propositions the broad lines of thought which found expression at the Vatican Council in an attitude of dissent from the opinions of the majority. It is unnecessary now to treat this subject save in an historical manner. But, regarded merely as the natural development of an internal idea long held and long germinating in the Church, it is proper to examine the trend of reasoning which influenced a few men of the highest intellectual rank no less than spiritual intensity to resist the cry for a declaration of infallibility disconnected with the general episcopal body. It will be noted with what stress the preacher dwells, toward the close, on the necessity of absolute and unquestioning obedience to the principle of authority as the fundamental principle of the Catholic system.

" 'Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.'—St. Paul x., 17.

"This statement of the Apostle, as the construction of the sentence implies, is a conclusion from something that had been said before, because, in the same Gospel, it is also said 'Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the Word of Christ.' He had declared in the preceding part of the chapter that those 'who should call on the name of the Lord would be saved,' and then puts a series of questions: 'How, then, shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? Or how shall they believe Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they preach unless they be sent?' Faith, then, comes by hearing, but hearing by the Word of God. The principle announced and embodied in these words is a fundamental fact in the history of revealed religion, and imposing as is the spectacle presented to you during the last two weeks, of Bishops from every part of the country—from its Pacific to its Atlantic shores—assembled in Council; grand as is the scene at which we are now assisting, something more imposing is embodied in the fact of which we are witnesses, that is in the principle that faith, according to the dispensation of God, was provided for by God to man by the ministration of men; and, therefore, I shall divide what I have to say into three propositions. The first proposition is that God—our divine Lord and Saviour Jesus—has established a body of men, whom He sent in His name, to whom He gave the commission to announce His doctrine to His people; that He has perpetuated the existence of that commission, and that at every period, from the commencement of Christianity, the same essential power and duties exist as were first constituted. My next proposition is this: That this commissioned body is perpetuated by the rite of ordination and by the transmission of the right to exercise that power in the transmission of orders. My third is the testimony borne by this

body to the facts which establish the divine mission of Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which He announced. In treating of this subject, I shall abstain from the consideration of those texts of Scripture which might be adduced to prove it. I shall consider the subject, as it were, on its merits. When I refer to Scripture, it will be for the purpose of stating facts which are never denied, or else on questions requiring me to use the absolute language of Holy Writ.

"First, then, Christ established a body of men perpetually to exist, to teach His doctrine and to administer His sacraments. Presupposing the principle, which common sense dictates, that no man can act for another except by delegated authority, which appears when St. Paul says: 'How, then, can they preach unless they be sent?' I shall confine myself to the statement that Christ sent men—a body of men—to teach perpetually. In the 21st verse of the 20th chapter of the Gospel of St. John we read that our Divine Lord, after His resurrection, appeared to His Apostles and said: 'As the Father has sent Me, so I also send you,' and that this promise was made, that this commission was given, to the Apostles, not as individuals, but as a body, will be acknowledged by every one who recollects that Thomas was not present, for certainly no one would say that he did not therefore receive the Apostolic ministry. We do not know that he received it on any other occasion; and as he was represented in that body, so all representatives of that body, to the most distant ages, receive the commission and the powers of the ministry. But was this power to have its existence continued? The same principle which guides men in the interpretation of delegated power is applicable here. If power be given for special purposes, and no limitation of time be affixed to its continuance, that power subsists until actually recalled,

or until the object for which it was established has been attained.

"These are principles universally admitted in legislative decrees. What was the object for which Christ gave power to the twelve to teach all nations, to instruct all creatures?—the object even of divine authority. Says the Apostle in the 4th verse of the 2d chapter of the 1st Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, 'God wishes that all men be saved and come to a knowledge of the truth.' The object, then, was that of perpetuating this authority; and, as long as human society exists on earth, His mercy extends to it, and the commission to carry the tidings of salvation to men must subsist. Is there any limit assigned to this commission? He who gave it still lives —the immortal God, the King of all ages. The proof is drawn from the words of the commission, and, as it was so ably placed before you in the instruction of last Sunday evening, I shall refrain from considering it. Let us consider if any reason exists for supposing that the commission might be changed, was meditated, or might follow, having regard only to the nature and object of the commission and to Him who gave it. It may be said that the authority of the Apostles may not be supposed to exist in those who succeeded them in the ministry, and that when there is a question of special privilege of Apostleship, of universal jurisdiction, appointed in the Church of Christ—when it is a question of individual inspiration, a question of express powers exercised in restoring the sick and lame to health and vigor and the dead to life—were these special privileges to descend to all who, when the Apostles should have passed away, were to follow them in the ministry? But it is a question now only of the purpose of miracles—of the purpose of power to preach the name of Christ and to administer the sacraments—and this descends through

all ages from those who had the power from the first Depositor of power. But you may say that the authority of a delegate rests on the authority of the person who gave it; so that, in the case of the Christian Church, there may be a term to its power, as there was in the Jewish Church. There is no parity whatever between the two instances. In the case of the Jewish Church the law was only typical of future good things, and moreover contained special predictions of a coming Messiah, and commands to hear the prophet whom God promised to raise up, and to obey Him as the Israelites obeyed Moses. There was a term set to the power of the priesthood, and in fulfilling the prophecies and working miracles Jesus Christ showed that whatever were the powers of the Jewish priesthood, He recalled them, and in so doing showed that He who gave these powers cared for and guarded them, lest this divine institution might be abused, as it would in the destruction of the city and sanctuary, and in the dispersion of the people, rendering it impossible to fulfill the law, because it was only at Jerusalem that the rite of sacrifice could subsist. There is no parity whatever between the two Churches, and my argument, I submit, retains its force—that the power given to the Apostles resides in that body of which they were the first members. That body subsists, and must always subsist, so long as men remain on the earth. How is this body perpetuated? and who, at the present day, are the inheritors and participators in the apostolical communion? The power of the ministry not descending, as in the Old Law, from father to son, but by the laying on of hands, as is shown from Scripture, in the 6th verse of the 1st chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy, where the Apostle admonishes him 'to stir up the grace of God by the laying on of hands.' This could not, of itself, communicate the powers of the ministry; it must be by

the laying on of hands by one who has himself a commissioned authority to perform this duty, as St. Paul laid hands on Timothy, and Timothy laid hands on others; and hence the admonition to lay hands on no man slightly nor for slight cause, 'lest he be a participator in his sin.' This laying on of hands, according to the monuments of antiquity and to the testimony of universal history, was the means appointed by God for the communication of the powers of the ministry. If ever the chain which unites us with the apostolic time can be broken, it is not, indeed, as some men have said, a sign, nor does it indicate a necessity for omitting ordination; there is not such a necessity; but if a link in the chain that binds us to that time can be broken, there is a cessation of Christian faith and of the obligation to believe a single word of the Gospel of Christ. He who made this apostolic ministry did so to give to men the means by which they might know Him, and there is no evidence to show that a link in the chain of apostolical succession has been broken; nay, more, such a supposition necessarily involves the conclusion that that mission was not sent from God, because, if the mission was sent by God, it never could have failed.

"Besides the transmission of the powers of the ministry by ordination, there is also recorded a jurisdiction of power to exercise the right received in the reception of sacred orders. As St. Paul says in the 8th verse of the 13th chapter of his Epistles to the Corinthians, 'We can do nothing against the truth.' There never could be a power or right in any man to teach otherwise than as Jesus Christ had taught, for to such a one the words of the Apostle might be applied, 'Although an angel from heaven were to preach another doctrine, let him be anathema.' The Church has never denied the validity of the orders of the Eastern sectaries and of the Greek

Church, but she never has acknowledged the Anglican order that makes a claim to apostolical succession. But whether these orders be valid or not, one thing is certain: that there is not, and cannot be, except in connection and communion with the pastors established by Christ, the right to the power to preach the Gospel. As well—to use an illustration borrowed from the circumstances of our time—as well might the electric fluid be considered to send a message across the Atlantic, when, as in the first two attempts to lay the cable, it broke in mid-ocean, as well can we suppose that the powers of the ministry, or the right to exercise those powers, could exist if the link which binds the present to the past had been broken, or could, at any future time, be subject to such a condition. St. Cecilian, in writing on the sanctity of the Church, compares it to a river, which draws its waters from its source; and to a tree, whose branches live on the sap they draw from the trunk: cut off the source and the river runs dry, lop off the branches and they wither away. Man cannot make this power, which is supernatural and must be made by God; man cannot set aside what God established; man cannot supply what the providence of God gave to men in sufficiency. Observe how, in the Roman Catholic Church, all the members of which it is composed are united under their respective pastors, the pastors under the Bishop of the diocese in which they live, and the Bishop of each diocese with every other Bishop in the Catholic world, because united with the See of Rome—with the successor of him to whom Jesus Christ gave the power to continue His authority. And the whole weight of this authority, of this teaching power, resides in each, no matter how humble the minister. Just as we see when a globe, placed or rolling on a plane, presses on that plane at one point with the whole of its weight, so each

and every priest speaks, not in his own name, but on the authority of that body of which he is a member, and the whole weight of the authority of that body accompanies his words. No matter how remote his distance, how humble the church in which he ministers, he can speak as having authority received in the name of Jesus Christ: he can speak to his flock as one commissioned to speak, not from any authority of his own, but from the authority of Christ; and as I have said, this testimony or witness which the teaching body gives is the highest evidence of the truth of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, as far as the fact of its divine mission is concerned.

"Observe that this character of witness is the one which both our divine Lord and St. Paul most expressly mention as applying to those who participate in the divine office. Jesus Christ said to His Apostles, 'You shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem and Samaria, and even to the uttermost parts of the earth;' and St. Paul, in the 2d chapter of his 2d Epistle to Timothy, 2d verse, says: 'And the things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same commend to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others.' This teaching of Apostolic ministers is the testimony each generation bears to the truths received from the preceding generation, and ultimately regards the testimony of the Apostles to the words and deeds of Jesus Christ. No evidence can be considered stronger than this of the Apostolic ministry, and it is impossible that the immediate successors of Christ, the men to whom He transmitted the power to preach, should not have understood Him, or that the immediate successors of the Apostles could have been misinformed. And so, from age to age, from pastor to pastor, from Jesus Christ to the present day, it will be found impossible that any omission can have been made; and therefore each pastor can say with St. Paul,

'That which I received of the Lord I also communicate.' And how admirably adapted is this to the nature and necessities, the condition and interests of man! We do not send the child, or the adult, or any one else to any other source to learn the doctrine of Jesus Christ—to any other than to the Apostolic minister of truth. We do not send the unbeliever to any other than the traditional testimony of the Church to the fact of the divine commission to preach. This mode of teaching is adapted to the capacity of infancy as well as of age, to the ignorant as to the learned, to dullness as well as to brightness, to the untutored Indian of the forest as well as to men dwelling in civilized communities, and is equally reasonable before as after investigation. It places all men on an equality, and is equally reasonable as the duty of the parent over the child—a duty founded on right. So with the teaching of the Apostolic Church, there is the same simple and certain rule of faith and conduct, founded on the fact of the Church teaching with authority. This principle preserves the unity of the Church, produced the catholicity of the Church, results in the sanctity of the Church—the first necessity of holiness being obedience to authority, and it is a principle that constitutes the apostolicity of the Church, and enables us to say with the Apostle that we are grounded on the foundation of the Apostle, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone.' "

Archbishop Kenrick's silver jubilee, which was celebrated on the 30th of November, 1866, was the occasion of some chagrin to his English-speaking admirers because of the aversion with which their beloved prelate regarded every form of tribute, personal and public. He would have no parade and no display. Hence the celebration was only a maimed affair, in some respects. The clergy, however, could not be prevented from presenting

him with a rich set of canonicals. Still the Archbishop could not repress German enthusiasm; a torchlight procession in his honor had been resolved on, and though he strove to inhibit the display when he learned of it, preparations had been so far advanced that he was persuaded to let it come off.

During the following year the Archbishop visited Rome for the first time since he was consecrated. The occasion was the eighteen hundredth anniversary of St. Peter's martyrdom, and the fullest attendance of the episcopacy that could be secured was desired by the Holy Father. The celebration over, the Archbishop left the city in order to visit other European centres. Amongst those he did not forget his own native Dublin, where he received a most enthusiastic greeting from all who remained of his early friends. His former pastor, Father O'Dwyer, was one of these; and he was so overjoyed to see his old-time curate return an Archbishop that he embraced him with the ardor of a brother. The Archbishop preached while in Dublin, and his sermon was largely devoted to the political troubles of the country, it would appear, since one of its sentences was cabled all over the United States. "Ireland," he said, "differed from other nations in this—that whilst these had given martyrs to the Church, she was the martyr nation of the world." The melancholy epigram was not agreeable to the British Government. It was in the year of the Fenian rising that it was spoken, and the jails at the time were full of Irish martyrs to freedom. Had it been possible for the British authorities to resent its utterance, it is in the highest degree probable the bold speaker would have been made to feel their displeasure; but he, being an American citizen as well as a high Church dignitary, might not be molested or interfered with as easily as a less exalted member of society. This episode

by no means bears out the statement in Father Walsh's memoir, that "though born and brought up and educated in Ireland, he never manifested, as far as we know, any great love for his native land." Father Walsh seems to have entirely overlooked this proof of the attachment which the Archbishop always felt for Ireland and the interest which he took in her fortunes. He was a great admirer not only of Mangan, but of Thomas D'Arcy Magee, one of the exiled Young Irelanders, and would go to hear his lectures when he could not be induced to attend any other.

In 1868 the Archbishop consecrated two more of the priests of the diocese, the Right Rev. Joseph Melcher, Bishop of Green Bay, Wis., and Right Rev. John J. Hogan, Bishop of St. Joseph, Mo. Bishop Melcher was consecrated in St. Mary's Church, on the 12th of July, and Bishop Hogan in St. John's, on the 13th of September. Bishop Melcher was by birth an Austrian and came to the United States, a priest, about 1843. He was stationed for a time at Little Rock, Ark., and was afterwards pastor of a German congregation down on the Meramec River, about ten miles southwest of St. Louis. About 1847 he was removed to St. Louis by the Archbishop and was appointed pastor of St. Mary's Church and Vicar General of the diocese. These positions he held until his consecration as Bishop. After the brief Episcopate of a little more than five years and five months, he died on the 20th of December, 1873. Bishop Melcher was a just man and a model clergyman.

Right Rev. John Hogan came from Ireland, a student, about 1848. He made his philosophical and theological studies in the Diocesan Seminary at Carondelet. He was ordained priest by the Archbishop on Easter Saturday, the 10th of April, 1852. Five others were ordained with him, none of whom, as far as we know, are now alive.

For years he had labored in poor country missions, and with a zeal that has not been and will not be forgotten by those to whom he ministered. When at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, the Archbishop spoke of him as a fit and proper person to fill the new See of St. Joseph, some one asked: "But who is Father Hogan?" "O, I know who he is," answered the Archbishop. He remained Bishop of St. Joseph twelve years, when, on September 10, 1880, he was promoted to the new and more important See of Kansas City.

CHAPTER V.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL—MELANCHOLY PORTENTS AND PROGNOSTICATIONS—FULMINATIONS OF "JANUS" AND "QUIRINUS"—ARCHBISHOP KENRICK'S OPPOSITION TO THE DOGMA OF INFALLIBILITY—OPINION OF HIS DECEASED BROTHER ON THE SUBJECT.

The Archbishop paid his second visit to Rome in the fall of 1869. His visit this time was for the purpose of attending the Vatican Council, convoked by the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IX., to meet on the 8th of December of the same year. The Council was one of the largest assemblies of which ecclesiastical history speaks. It consisted of nearly nine hundred Bishops, and it is no exaggeration to say that in that vast assemblage the Archbishop was one of the most prominent and learned.

There is nothing which can more forcibly bring home to the mind the inefficacy of shibboleths to indicate any real conditions, or conditions that have any actual basis of permanency, than a perusal now of the arguments which preceded the Vatican Council and the proclamation of the dogma of Infallibility. For instance, let us select the word "Ultramontanism." It is a long word, and a portentous one. It was a word potent to engender acerbity and the combative principle in man. It conjured up a multitude of frightful facts and still more frightful possibilities. For years it did great service as a bogey word. The papers were filled with the denunciations of Ultramontanism and its adherents. Yet how rarely do we ever see the word in print in our present-day literature! It would almost seem as though it had been eliminated from the dictionary and forgotten. After the part

played by this word and the idea it represented in the hurricane of controversy preceding the stormy year of 1870, it is marvelous how quietly it has been laid in its grave, and how effectually oblivion has flung its mantle over the tomb. Infallibility was said to be the progeny of Ultramontanism, but with many an ominous headshake it was predicated that it was not to be its last nor its most dreadful. The Jesuits, it was freely said, had not played their last card. They would wipe out the stain of condemnation and suppression by the doctrines they would force the Church to crystallize into dogmas. They had triumphed in the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception dogma; they it was who had brought about the proposal of Infallibility, and no one could foretell what other novelties they would impose on the Church. All these direful forebodings and predictions have failed so completely as to make one wonder how even credulous people could be so easily made the victims of fantastic fears. The story of the Cock Lane Ghost is hardly more interesting as an example of the contagious power of panic and vague mystery than the rise and fall of the bugbear known as Ultramontanism, in the story of Europe in the nineteenth century.

It must be owned that the portents which ushered in the Infallibility discussion were grave enough to upset the equilibrium of the ordinary mind. Only men familiar with the whole body of Church history, the development of dogma and the intricacies of theological exposition could regard without dismay the historical panorama unfolded before their eyes and commented on by spokesmen whose function was to illustrate only what appeared contradictory and inconsistent, and leave all other perspective out of sight and unnoted. Thus, all through the long period of the Council's sessions, there passed scarcely a day that did not bring its quota of slander and

perversion of fact, telegraphed to the leading newspapers of the world by able but unscrupulous men. Two writers for the German press were especially prominent in the evil work of sowing hatred of the Papacy. They wrote under *noms de plume*—one signing himself "Quirinus" and the other "Janus." The late Lord Acton was pretty generally credited with being the author of the "Janus" letters, which appeared in the London *Times*, in an English translation, and were read with profound interest all over the English-speaking world. The letters of "Janus" were marked by such a degree of scholarship in the domain of ecclesiastical history as few laymen ever displayed; and as it was known that Lord Acton was one of the most learned men of the age, and as he was known to be, although a convert to Catholicity, an opponent of the Ultramontane school, the theory that he was the real author of the "Janus" fulminations, which were instinct, from first to last, with deadly hostility to that ideal, was almost universally accepted. The aim of "Janus," whose letters were written before the Council had begun its sittings, was to discredit the idea of freedom among the Bishops and to prove that they were placed under a system of terrorism and intimidation by the Pope in order that they should be coerced into voting for the schemes of the Jesuits. The paradox was sought to be established that the sacrifice of one's judgment and intellect to another—which is asserted to be the principle of the Jesuit rule for the novitiate—is the best preparation for training such men to be dictators of Papal policy! To maintain that the entire surrender of conscience and reason is the most fitting discipline to produce the irresistible controversalist and final arbiter of all things mundane and spiritual is surely a magnificent attempt to sustain a thesis by destructive rather than constructive argument. The postulate of "Janus" was that, by reason of this Jesuit and

Papal terrorism, the Vatican Council was not free; and without complete freedom, according to theologians and canonists, the decisions of a Council are not binding and the assembly sinks to the plane of a pseudo-Synod.

The decrees to be passed by this Council, "Janus" ventured to say, might therefore have to be corrected. Thirty-two years have passed since the surmise was put forward, and there is not the faintest semblance of its being verified. The letters of "Quirinus," which professed to give a sketch of the actual proceedings of the Council day by day, appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and were artfully directed to inflame the *amour propre* of the German Jesuits, by filling their minds with pictures of the plots of the Spanish school and the unbridled ambition of that branch of the order to place the whole religious world in a position of helpless slavery beneath their rod. The Pope, it was more than hinted, whom they sought to have declared infallible, was in reality only their automaton, bound to say and think and act just as they pulled the strings. In short, although the writers of both the "Janus" and "Quirinus" letters, had they been Protestants, could by no possibility have written more bitterly both against Popes and the Church in general than those professedly Catholic authors, yet when the whole scope and significance of their arguments were weighed and considered the intelligent reader could hardly fail to be struck by the incongruity of men still professing attachment to a system which they had proved to their own satisfaction to be based on a usurpation of power and abuse of the original Apostolic commission. In this way these writers and commentators overshot their mark, to a certain extent. They only succeeded in rousing a little alarm among Continental statesmen, but the little flutter which ensued after the proclamation of the Infallibility dogma soon subsided.

Of the seventy members of the Council who were opposed to the definition of Infallibility as a dogma, the Archbishop of St. Louis was among the most formidable in debate. He ranked among the most fluent speakers in the Latin tongue, in all that vast assemblage of men trained in this great vehicle of thought and theological expression. His formal address, defending his views, was a masterpiece of logic from the point of vision assumed; and those who are curious to study the argument as an historical incident may still find its substance and logical scheme set forth in the pamphlet on which it was based which the Archbishop had published in Naples and circulated among the members of the Council before he prepared to deliver the argument from the floor of the Council hall. This pamphlet bears traces of some wounded feeling because of the animadversions passed on his reasoning in the earlier stage of the discussion by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Elphin. There was, no doubt, considerable emotion manifested during the sittings of the Council, because of the incessant attempts of a misguided section to inflame the pride and exhibit the foibles of human nature, inseparable from the disputes of even the most angelic of controversialists. Archbishop Kenrick, calm, gentle and unpretentious as he ordinarily was, could not be said to be exempt from this common infirmity. The human side of the Church had been, indeed, put to a severe strain all through the protracted sittings, and nothing could better have exhibited its Divine character and the power of resistance to disrupting forces thereby derived, than its triumphant issue from a contest wherein even minds the most loyal in intention and crystalline in logic were liable to be misled by those very gifts into too great a reliance on preconceived conclusions. The truth is that those who entered the Council with such opinions were compelled

by the very force of events to modify them. For one reason which existed against the opportuneness of promulgating the dogma of Infallibility, prior to the assembling of the Council, a thousand arose, while the Council was sitting, that demanded it imperatively, in the interests of all things that the Church esteems most precious. The Continental powers combined to prevent the definition of the dogma, and even sought to prevent the assembling of the Council; the Sardinian Government was watching for the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome to complete its successful aggression upon the patrimony of Peter; the Pope's temporal power was trembling on the verge of extinction; nought remained of the appanages of the Primacy but the admission of its supremacy and its privileges as the mouthpiece of the Church Universal. These portentous facts completely altered the situation for those who had set out for the Eternal City believing that the moment for the definition of the dogma was not the psychological one. Such was the case with regard to Archbishop Spalding, who, like Archbishop Kenrick, was opposed to the idea of a formal definition at first, but, unlike him, became a convert to the view that necessity demanded it then and there. The fact that the metropolitan of Baltimore had joined him of Dublin and others in attacking his attitude seemed to have produced a painful impression on the sensitive soul of the St. Louis theologian, as may be gathered from the opening passages of his speech. His argument started with a limitation of the privileges of the Primacy, based on the distinguished thinker's own interpretation of the words of Christ on the bestowal of it on Peter; and from that standpoint was forcibly sustained throughout to its negative conclusion. It will be observed that it differs widely from the position assumed on the same subject by his brother, Francis Patrick, in his famous treatise on the

Primacy. It asserted that "God alone is infallible;" yet he admitted the inerrancy or infallibility of the Church, which in his opinion was its tradition, "divinely founded, and kept by the divine indwelling, so that it shall not tolerate errors contradicting revealed truths, nor propound to the faithful by its supreme authority anything that is not true." On the other hand, Francis Patrick clearly contended for the absolute inerrancy of Papal definitions, in this passage: "The *personal fallibility* of the Pope in his private capacity, writing or speaking, is freely conceded by the most ardent advocates of Papal prerogatives; but his official infallibility, *ex cathedra*, is strongly affirmed by St. Alphonsus de Liguori and a host of divines, in accordance, as I believe, with ancient tradition and the general sentiment of the Church."

It can serve no useful purpose to go over the details of this engrossing chapter of Church history once more. The passions it excited, the alarms it inspired, the bitterness it engendered and the prophecies to which it gave rise have all been either allayed or proved groundless and erroneous. But while all these things may be quietly allowed to rest in unmolested quiet, it is not perhaps irrelevant to recall the great fundamental misconception which underlay the whole argument on which the opposition of those who voted or intended to vote *non placet* was built up. This had its root in the belief that the Bishops who argued for the infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff surrendered to his claim their own individual episcopal birthright and sunk their individual dignity and responsibility as pastors of the flock when they admitted his claim to speak as the official mouthpiece of the Church. The attribute of infallibility cannot be a thing divisible, by its very nature. It belongs to the Church, because this is the Church set up and kept constantly informed by its Divine Founder. From the beginning it

was laid down that in that Church could be no falsehood or error when it spoke as the Church. Therefore, when the Bishops proclaimed the infallibility of the Pope *ipso facto*, they asserted the law of collective infallibility, since the fruit cannot be greater in vitality than the tree which brings it forth. They did not lose the gift of collective inerrancy which with the official mouthpiece of the Church they shared as from the beginning, and which required assemblage and coöperation to a specific end to have it set in motion to that end. Therefore there could be no loss of individual possession when each Bishop returned to his diocese to carry on the work of the Church. Nothing was changed, in either belief or sentiment; only that that which was held in belief, and acted on in practice from the earliest ages of the Church, was now embodied in the canonical law. Unity was not made more binding because it was solemnly proclaimed to all mankind that the head was part of the same system as the members, and that a common vitality and life-purpose set all in motion.

Archbishop Kenrick was not the only one of the American hierarchy who either dissented on principle from the *schema* of Infallibility or demurred to the proposal to define it as a dogma on other grounds. His objections were shared by several others—by Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati; Bishop Domenec, of Pittsburg; Bishop Fitzgerald, of Little Rock; Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester; Archbishop Connolly, of Halifax, and Bishop Bourget, of Montreal, who represented British America among the dissentients. These all voted *non placet* at the private sitting of the Council, preparatory to the promulgation of the dogma, on July 13. Besides these there voted for the modified form *placet juxta modum* Archbishop McCloskey, Bishop Demers, of Vancouver; Bishop Verot, of Savannah. The other English-speaking

prelates who were opposed to the definition were Archbishop McHale, of Tuam, Ireland; Bishop Moriarty, of Kerry, Ireland; Bishop Vaughan, of Plymouth, England; Bishop Ullathorne, of Birmingham, England, and Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, England.

The dissentients, all but two, left Rome without taking any part in the session at which the dogma was promulgated, and Archbishop Kenrick was among those who submitted to the will of the majority, as became a true son of the Church. It was said that he did so with reluctance. This was only an inference drawn from the fact of some delay having arisen over the reception of the written token of his acceptance. The delay was entirely accidental, and not of the Archbishop's making; for he had forwarded the paper in due course, but the Roman official, the President of the Council, to whom it was addressed had gone on a journey, and it took some months before it reached his hand.

He himself had written that "Whoever does not submit to the decisions of an Œcumenical Council does not deserve the name of Catholic," nor was he to be terrified from following the line of duty thus laid down by the shouts of the malcontent press that the dissentients would have to "pass under the Caudine yoke amid the scornful laughter of his colleagues of the majority," or be anathema. These taunts were not verified. There was no scornful laughter, nor was there anything to show that the spirit of brotherhood in Christ had departed from the Church. There had been some honest differences in the course of a great Council, as there had been at every Council; and when the subject matter was decided the incident closed. A ripple had shown itself on the surface of a mighty stream; for a little while it lived, and then passed out of sight forever, and the stream flowed placidly on oceanward.

Before taking leave of this closed chapter of ecclesiastical history, it is not irrelevant to note, looking back over the chasm of years, how futile were the attempts at prophecy of disaster made over the definition of the Infallibility dogma. The obliquity of mental vision which was mistaken for prevision is vividly exemplified in one case especially. In England, it was said, the inevitable result must be to widen the existing cleavage between the spiritual and the civil, and secure the ultimate domination of the secular principle in the schools of the country. Even while these words are being written the world is looking on at the falsification of the forecast, since the latest law on education recognizes the religious principle in so far as to make provision for State and for the secular education given in the various voluntary denominational schools.

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN OF THE ARCHBISHOP TO ST. LOUIS—JOYFUL MANIFESTATIONS—ADDRESSES OF WELCOME. THE ARCHBISHOP, REPLYING, EXPLAINS HIS VOTE ON THE INFALLIBILITY DOGMA—FATHER J. P. RYAN APPOINTED COADJUTOR.

During the fourteen months of the Archbishop's absence the affairs of the diocese had been looked after by the Administrator, the Very Rev. P. J. Ryan (now Archbishop of Philadelphia). He had won the love and admiration of the whole people of the diocese, and was generally looked up to by the clergy as one eminently fitted, by nature and training, to rule and guide. It was observed with pain and alarm that the health of the Archbishop, instead of being improved by his sojourn in Europe, showed symptoms of deterioration; hence the need of a Coadjutor soon suggested itself to many. There seemed to be instantaneous agreement on the point of the person fitted best for this important duty. All eyes simultaneously turned toward the Administrator. He had been ordained by the Archbishop in 1853. He was born in Thurles, Tipperary County, Ireland, on February 20, 1831, and his early education was received from the Christian Brothers of Thurles. Later on he went to an academy in Dublin, and subsequently to St. Patrick's College, Carlow, where he was made a subdeacon. In 1852 he came to the United States, and entered the Seminary at Carondelet. In the following year he was ordained—and a special dispensation for the purpose had to be obtained because of the postulant's youth.

Shortly after his ordination he was appointed assistant at the Cathedral, a position which he held until the

December of 1860, when he assumed the pastorate of the Annunciation, which church he himself erected and of which he was pastor until his promotion, in July, 1868, to the pastorate of St. John's and the Vicar Generalship of the diocese. During his pastorate of the Annunciation he acted as chaplain of Gratiot Prison all through the dreadful years of the Civil War.

Such, briefly, was the career of the priest upon whom fell the general choice as Coadjutor to the Archbishop.

At an informal meeting of several prominent clergymen of the diocese held on October 9, 1871, it was resolved that Rome should be petitioned for the appointment of Father Ryan to the Coadjutorship. A petition to that effect was prepared and very extensively signed, and in the early spring of 1872 the Right Rev. P. J. Ryan received the Bulls appointing him Bishop of Tricomia, *in partibus infidelium*, and Coadjutor to the Archbishop of St. Louis, with the right of succession. He was consecrated by the Archbishop in St. John's Church on the 14th of April following, the second Sunday after Easter. Bishop Hennessy, of Dubuque, preached the consecration sermon. Many Bishops from abroad were present, among them Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto, Canada, and Bishop Ryan's namesake and very dear friend, the late Bishop Ryan, of Buffalo. Bishop Foley, of Chicago, and Bishop Feehan, then of Nashville, were also among those who came from distant places to see the new prelate solemnly inducted. Bishop Ryan entered at once upon the work laid out for him and performed it with great zeal and great success. His Coadjutorship lasted for more than twelve years. During those years the Archbishop kept almost out of the public sight. Save officiating and preaching a short discourse at the funeral of James H. Lucas, banker and millionaire (to whose sister, Mrs. Hunt, the diocese was

perhaps more indebted than to any other person), he did not appear at any public function. He was not, however, idle. While Bishop Ryan visited the diocese, dedicated the churches, administered Confirmation and ordained the candidates for Holy Orders, the Archbishop was still the real head and ruler of the diocese.

Perfect harmony prevailed between these two earnest minds. Each understood his position toward the other so well that not the slightest friction was possible between them. Hence for twelve years the affairs of the diocese prospered under their wise and fraternal coöperation. Then, all at once, a change came over the scene. Bishop Ryan was suddenly called on to fill the vacant chair of Philadelphia Archdiocese, wherein Archbishop Wood had just died. It was quite a shock to the hosts of his friends in St. Louis when the news arrived. He had labored there for more than thirty years, and they had grown so accustomed to his presence, his counsel, his eloquence, his help in everything, that it would seem that he was an inseparable part of their lives. There was some murmuring over the matter in many quarters, and many surmises were thrown out as to the causes which led the Holy Father to choose Bishop Ryan at a time when the St. Louis diocese so needed an active man as Coadjutor because of the comparative retirement of the real head of the Church there.

In Father Walsh's brief memoir of Archbishop Kenrick he thus explains the secret of the appointment:

"In 1883 there was a meeting of the American Archbishops summoned by His Holiness Leo XIII. to consider the question whether or not the time had come when Canon Law should become the law for the Church of the United States. At this meeting Bishop Ryan was present as the representative of the Archbishop of St. Louis, and, no doubt, by his eloquence and prudence

made a very favorable impression upon the Roman authorities. This we know to be a true account of the promotion of Bishop Ryan. In addition we give the following. Whilst the See of Philadelphia was still vacant, there appeared in the public prints a news item to the effect that Bishop Ryan was appointed to Philadelphia. Very Rev. Father O'Connell, President of the American College in Rome, seeing the item and having a personal interest in the matter, called on Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, to ascertain its truth. The Cardinal said at once there was no truth in it, and that the item must have originated from the fact that an Irish priest by the name of Ryan had been appointed to the See of Philipolis, *in partibus infidelium*, and a Vicariate in Australia. 'But,' added the Cardinal, 'the appointment of Bishop Ryan to the See of Philadelphia would be excellent; I will speak of it and recommend it to the Cardinals.' The Cardinal was as good as his word, and the appointment of Bishop Ryan to the See of Philadelphia was the result. When the news of Bishop Ryan's appointment reached the clergy and people of St. Louis their surprise was indeed great. But the surprise of the Archbishop must have been especially great, since he was more concerned in the matter than any one else. Yet he gave no sign of surprise. When Bishop Ryan waited on him with the intelligence, he merely said, 'Accept.' It seems that the Archbishop knew nothing of the efforts that were being made towards the removal of Bishop Ryan. Many years previously Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, inquired if he would have any objection to Bishop Ryan's, then Father Ryan, filling the vacant See of Louisville. 'Yes,' answered the Archbishop very promptly, 'I have every objection,' and the matter was dropped. In like manner we believe that had he known of the efforts looking to Bishop Ryan's

promotion to Philadelphia, he could and would have checked them. It seems that Bishop Ryan himself knew nothing of those efforts until his appointment was an accomplished fact. The Bulls authorizing his promotion did not come for some time after he received news of the appointment. Whilst awaiting the arrival of the Bulls, it happened that some one asked, 'Archbishop, when are your Bulls to arrive?' 'Really,' answered the Archbishop, 'I don't know. I guess they must be grazing on the Alps.' It was said at the time that in sending Archbishop Ryan to Philadelphia, St. Louis was doing no more than paying a just debt—a debt which she contracted more than forty years previously by Philadelphia sending her Right Rev. P. R. Kenrick."

Here, again, it has been found necessary to digress from the straight path of biography and anticipate historical development. Now to resume the record of events as they sequentially transpired.

The return of the Archbishop to St. Louis was hailed by the whole city and diocese as a joyous restoration and a blessing from heaven. He was welcomed in a fashion not easily to be described or easily forgotten. The public demonstrations began at an early hour. The various local Catholic societies assembled and formed in processional orders, with bands and banners, and, under the lead of the marshals, proceeded to St. John's Church, where the Archbishop was to celebrate High Mass. After the Communion the Rev. P. J. Ryan, Administrator (afterwards Coadjutor Bishop) read an address of welcome to the Archbishop, while all the other clergy present stood around the altar railing. The address was in these terms:

"Most Reverend and Most Beloved Father:

"May it please your Grace, we, your children of the clergy and laity of this diocese, full of joy and gratitude

on beholding you again in your old and honored place at the head of this Christian family, gather round you in filial love and reverence to offer to you our most earnest, heartfelt welcome. But we are not here to-day merely to comply with a custom however venerable, or to perform certain formalities however appropriate. No; our presence in such numbers has a significance which we desire to be distinctly understood. It is the heartfelt expression of our unbounded confidence in your Grace as a father and spiritual guide, whom we love and trust; and of our deep veneration for you as a prelate of whom we are justly proud.

"We wish this also to be an occasion of testifying to you our sincere gratitude for the years of labor you have spent in our service, and for the great blessings conferred on us during that time, by your most wise and active administration. Ingrates indeed should we be, if twenty-seven years of disinterested devotion to our welfare could be by us forgotten or unappreciated. Time has but served to intensify our devotion, for each year brought forth new proofs of your self-sacrificing zeal for our interests. We have seen you during these long years leading a life of apostolic poverty in order to afford more to the poor and suffering of your flock; we have seen you founding and fostering vast religious and charitable institutions, the special glory of your episcopate, until now we behold within their walls more than four hundred religious of various orders, employed in maintaining over three thousand, including widows, orphans, foundlings, penitent women and the aged and insane. Within sight of this very edifice is one institution that has within its precincts nearly three hundred inmates. Your words and example enkindled the flame of charity in the breasts of others who came forward to aid in these noble works. Under your auspices we have seen numerous churches

spring up which never would have been created without your generous aid, and splendid educational institutions arose and flourished, until now we behold St. Louis unsurpassed in these particulars by any of her sister cities in this Union.

"Pardon us if we pain your modesty by reference to these meritorious works; but if we were silent these monuments themselves must speak aloud, for now, as you re-enter your city comforted and beautified by them, these works 'praise you in the gates,' and you have to permit your children, within as well as without their walls, to fulfill the words of Scripture, and 'rise up and call you blessed.' And independently of all your Grace has done for churches and charitable and educational institutions, we come to speak our gratitude for the exalted position which your personal character and official action, as our representative, has given to religion in this city. We can never forget your dignified firmness on many, many important and trying occasions. When political storms raged around your flock you were ever found the fearless shepherd of your people. We have never known you to yield one iota of principle to the most pressing demands of temporary expediency; you have ever held and acted on the true doctrine that, in permanent institutions, such as the Catholic Church is by excellence, any timid sacrifice of principle, though it may afford safety for a time to individuals, must finally prove prejudicial to the general interests of the entire body; hence, during the 'test-oath' agitation and persecution, when you beheld your priests and Sisters of Charity and of St. Joseph arrested and imprisoned, and still more persecution threatened if you did not succumb, you, most reverend father, were found alone amongst the presiding churchmen of this city boldly denouncing the iniquitous enactment against the Christian liberty of the people, and

denouncing it with a courage and dignity and a promptitude worthy of Thomas àBecket.

"These and innumerable other benefits we shall never forget, and on a great public occasion, like the present, so rarely afforded us, their remembrance wells up from the grateful hearts of your children, and we cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard, even though we feel you would much prefer our silence. We need not say how earnestly we watched your course, as far as we could ascertain it, in that great assembly of your peers, the Council of the Vatican. We knew enough of your character to feel unlimited confidence that there, as here, you would be influenced by the ruling purposes of your life, the glory of God and of His spouse, the Catholic Church. Though we beheld you stand with the minority, we saw around you great and holy men who shared your sentiments, and many of whom looked up to you for counsel. We felt in the reported words of the Sovereign Pontiff to our French prelate who shared your Grace's views, that you were bound to act according to your convictions and your conscience, until a new reason should arise to influence both—namely, the supreme deciding views of Church authority, which to the Catholic is the commanding voice of God.

"We knew from the reported teachings of the same Pontiff that the Catholic Church is the guardian, not the destroyer, of the dignity of the human reason, and that she asks it to pay the 'homage of understand' to God alone. Far better to you, and to every true man than was Isaac to Abraham is the reason—the distinguishing gift of the Supreme Being that elevates man out of the brute creation. This reason can never be offered up except on the 'Mountain of God' and in obedience to the Divine behest most certainly ascertained. And even then, like the only son of the patriarch, it is offered, but

never slain, for God preserves it by affording the very highest rational argument, founded on His own Divine authority, and this reason triumphs in open submission to essential truth. Thus we behold, in act, that wonderful principle of Catholic unity, that perfect compatibility of intellectual liberty with simple docile obedience, which can exist in an infallible Church alone.

"With heartfelt gratitude we hail your submission to this Church authority. By us it was, of course, expected; for we knew too well that your great learning and exalted position had in nothing diminished your humility. By those outside the Church who know you personally, or by character, this submission must be productive of most serious thought and salutary effect. No man has ever dared to accuse you of moral cowardice. No one can think that in having sacrificed personal interests, and, perhaps, somewhat pained life-long friends by your course, after a life, too, of such unswerving adherence to principle, that now, in the evening of your days, you would belie the record of that life by submission from any other motive than the deep conviction that God speaks through His Church, and it is man's greatest glory to obey her voice. Here must thinking people behold the secret of Catholic unity, the principle of ecclesiastical authority, and the conserving power of an everlasting Church.

"Finally, most beloved and venerated Father, we now, in the name of 150,000 Catholics of your diocese, in the names of the poor and helpless whom you have succored, in the names of priests and people, we beg for them and for ourselves your paternal blessing, and wish you many years of health, peace and prosperity."

At the conclusion of this address the Archbishop arose and responded as follows:

"Words would be insufficient to express my feelings

of thankfulness at the sentiments which have been uttered in the address just now read. I shall say nothing of that part of the address which refers to me personally. 'Praise not a man during life,' saith the Scriptures. Death, and death only, puts the seal on his character, and every human praise given to his actions is necessarily incomplete without the approval of God, the judge of the secrets of all hearts. With regard to that portion of the address that refers to my course in the Vatican Council, I will state briefly the motives of my action, and the motive of my entire and unreserved submission to the definition emanating from that authority.

"Up to the very period of the assembling of that Council I had held as a theological opinion what that Council has decreed to be an article of Christian faith; and yet I was opposed, most strongly opposed, to the definition. I knew that the misconceptions of its real character would be an obstacle in the way of the diffusion of Catholic truth. At least I thought so. I feared in certain parts of Europe, especially, that such a definition might lead to the danger of schism in the Church; and on more closely examining the question itself, in its intrinsic evidence, I was not convinced of the conclusiveness of the arguments by which it was sustained, or of its compatibility with certain well ascertained facts of ecclesiastical history which rose up strongly before my mind. These were the motives of my opposition. The motive of my submission is simply and singly the authority of the Catholic Church. That submission is a most reasonable obedience, because of the necessity of obeying and following an authority established by God; and having the guaranty of our Divine Saviour's perpetual assistance is in itself evidence, and cannot be gainsayed by any one who professes to recognize Jesus Christ as his Saviour and his God.

"Simply and singly on that authority I yield obedience and full and unreserved submission to the definition concerning the character of which there can be no doubt as emanating from the Council, and subsequently accepted by the greater part even of those who were in the minority on that occasion. In yielding this submission I say to the Church in the words of Peter and of Paul, 'To whom, O, Holy Mother, shall we go but to Thee? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we have believed and have known that Thou art the Pillar and the Ground of Truth.'"

The fact of the Archbishop's submission to the definition not having been generally known, its announcement evidently produced a deep effect on the clergy and people who heard it. At the conclusion of His Grace's response he gave his benediction to the people. As he passed along the aisle the kneeling congregation within reach plucked his gown to share the good man's smile. Some of them even kissed the hem of his garment; and all knelt and with bowed heads received his benediction as he passed along.

Thus ended this memorable home-coming, and the religious world of St. Louis settled down once more into its old routine. When Bishop Ryan left to become Archbishop of Philadelphia, he came forth again and set to work in his old wonted active way. His activity was amazing. No man of forty could display more energy than he in his octogenarian days. He visited every part of the diocese annually—and its area was as large as all Ireland—he confirmed about six thousand children every year; he ordained fifty-five priests; he looked after 217 churches, 55 chapels and 24 stations, and supervised the spiritual interests generally, along with their material wants, of a quarter of a million of a flock. To his hands were intrusted the insignia of a Cardinal when Arch-

bishop Gibbons was raised to the princely dignity, and he went to Baltimore from St. Louis to invest him with those marks of honor.

Subsequent to Bishop Ryan's departure the Archbishop had the happiness of consecrating as Bishops two more of his priests. On the 30th of November, 1887, he consecrated in St. John's Church, St. Louis, Right Rev. Thomas Bonacum, Bishop of Lincoln, Neb., Bishop Hennessy, of Dubuque, preaching the sermon.

In 1888 the Archbishop consecrated also in St. John's Church the Right Rev. John J. Hennessy, Bishop of Wichita, Kansas, Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, preaching the sermon.

What the Archbishop did for the educational wants of his diocese is not easily told. When he came to St. Louis in 1841 he found two religious communities of men, the Jesuits and the Lazarists. Even thus early the Jesuits had a flourishing institution of learning, the famous St. Louis University. At the Barrens the Lazarists were laboring in the two great objects of their order, the succor of the poor and the education of the clergy. The Jesuits and Lazarists did nearly all the missionary duties of the diocese, the secular clergy being very few in number.

About 1849 the Archbishop received the Christian Brothers into the diocese. They labored faithfully in the work of education, and succeeded admirably.

In 1862 a few members of the Order of St. Francis began, in a very humble way, a house of their order in the southern part of the city. This house soon grew into a flourishing institution for the holy ministry. They also built a church, not very large but very beautiful.

In 1866 the Redemptorists came and took charge of the old Cathedral. After three years of service in the Cathedral parish they built a magnificent church on

Grand avenue. They have one of the finest parish schools in the city; also a flourishing novitiate in Kirkwood.

On the Carondelet road three Alexian Brothers began on September 29, 1869, a hospital for the poor sick. They received their first patient in January, 1870. Their little hospital has grown into an institution of magnificent dimensions.

The Passionists established, on November 1, 1884, a house of their order about five miles from the centre of the city. Like their devoted brethren, Redemptorists, their principal occupation is that of giving missions.

Among the religious communities of women established in the Diocese of St. Louis the first to come were the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. In the little village of St. Charles they started their first house. This school in the course of years developed into a splendid academy. In 1827 they founded in St. Louis another academy, having received a large plot of ground from Judge Mullanphy for that purpose, as well as for the care of an orphanage. Later on they purchased a property at Maryville, and built upon it one of the finest boarding schools for young ladies in the country.

The help of the Sisters of Charity for the diocese of St. Louis was obtained by Bishop Rosati through the instrumentality of Bishop Bruté. Mr. Bryan Mullanphy donated ground for their use. On October 15, 1828, four Sisters left Emmitsburg, Md., for St. Louis. These Sisters of Charity were known as Mrs. Seton's Sisters, but became affiliated in 1858 with the great community founded by St. Vincent de Paul.

Next came the Sisters of St. Joseph. At the instance of Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, a colony of six Sisters of St. Joseph came from Lyons, France, to St. Louis. They arrived in St. Louis on March 24, 1836. On April 5

following three of them opened a school in Cahokia, Ill. On September 12 they opened a school in Carondelet, in a small log cabin, on the site of the present St. Joseph's Academy. From that time forward they have branched out into the most flourishing of the many sheltering vines of the Church's charity.

The Sisters of Loretto, founded in Kentucky by the saintly Father Nerinckx, established the first house of the community in St. Louis more than sixty years ago. Besides having charge of several schools, they built and conducted Loretto Academy on Jefferson avenue and Pine street.

In 1848 one of the most devoted of the female orders of the Church, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, founded a house in St. Louis. Later on they built a house in a more retired part of the city, where they had more accommodations to carry out their noble ends. A small community of the Sisters of the Visitation came from the mother house at Georgetown, D. C., over the Allegheny Mountains and settled in Kaskaskia, Ill., in 1833. The year 1844 was one of floods, and the angry waters came surging dangerously around the Sisters' dwelling. Among others the Archbishop hastened to their assistance. He invited them to St. Louis, and, in a very short time they had a neat convent of their order and a flourishing academy in the city. Like all the other female orders that are found in St. Louis, they increased rapidly in numbers and prosperity.

The Ursuline Sisters tell the story of their coming thus: "This institution, founded in 1840 by about six members of the Ursuline Order, now (1891) numbers one hundred and forty members. A flourishing academy and day school adjoins the convent in St. Louis. Similar schools were opened in 1877, in the beautiful valley of Arcadia, Iron county, Mo., by twelve religious from the St. Louis

community, and have prospered to such an extent as to give employment to a community of thirty now. In addition to these, thirteen schools are conducted in different parts of the diocese by religious of the same community. The Ursulines came to St. Louis under the supervision of Rev. Father Melcher, afterwards Bishop of Green Bay, Wis."

At the solicitation of Rev. Arnold Damen, S. J., the Sisters of Mercy came to St. Louis in the summer of 1856 and opened a school for girls at Tenth and Morgan streets. After a time, having got better quarters from the Archbishop, they converted the place into a hospital. The hospital is known as the Hospital of St. John of God and is well patronized.

The first convent of the Notre Dame Sisters established in the Archdiocese of St. Louis was at St. Joseph's (German) Church. Invited by Rev. Father Patchowsky, S. J., the Sisters came from their mother house at Milwaukee, and on May 1, 1858, opened St. Joseph's parochial school. The first Superioress was Venerable Mother Seraphim Von Promath. In the following year, on the feast of the Holy Angels, the Notre Dame Sisters opened other schools at the churches of SS. Peter and Paul, St. Liborius and St. Laurence O'Toole.

When the Little Sisters of the Poor arrived at St. Louis, in 1869, His Grace being informed of their arrival, came immediately to see them. "I am happy," he said, "to see the work of the Little Sisters of the Poor has commenced in my city," and added, "I see the good it will do and the benediction that Almighty God will bestow on this mission."

Mother Mary Odilia with five Infirmarian Sisters came to St. Louis from Europe in November, 1872, and established the first convent on the corner of Third and Gratiot streets. The principal calling of the community is

nursing the sick in hospitals and the sick poor at their homes.

During the years 1872 to 1875 the Sisters were constantly kept busy nursing and caring for those suffering with the terrible diseases of cholera and small-pox. On February, 1877, St. Mary's Infirmary, 1536 Papin street, was established; the building being too small and inconvenient, a new hospital was contemplated which was begun in March, 1887, and completed in February, 1889. The sick poor are received into this hospital gratis. In the year 1878 thirteen Sisters offered themselves to care for those stricken with yellow fever in the South—Memphis, Tenn.; and Canton, Miss. Five Sisters fell victims to the epidemic. From the year 1883 to 1885 the Sisters were frequently called upon to nurse the poor afflicted small-pox patients at the Quarantine and at their respective homes.

On the 17th of October, 1880, the foundress, Rev. Mother M. Odilia, died after a brief illness. In November, 1885, some property in St. Charles, Mo., was donated for a hospital, which was sold, and ground bought in a more suitable part of the city; a hospital was built which was completed in July, 1891. On the 2d of July, 1888, the Sisters were called upon to take charge of a hospital at Chillicothe, Mo. The community then numbered sixty-four members.

The Franciscan Sisters came to St. Louis in the fall of 1872. They came from Germany under the charge of Father Brockhagen, at the invitation of Father Schindel, pastor of St. Boniface's Church, Carondelet, to take charge of a hospital built by him. When they first arrived, they were three in number. After a few years the hospital was burned down, the patients, however, being all saved and then tenderly cared for by the good Sisters in what was called Gillig's Hall. The hospital was never

rebuilt and the Sisters founded what is now known as the Pius Hospital, so called after Pope Pius IX. It is a most successful hospital and is amongst the largest in the city. They state as one of the pleasant recollections of their foundation that they had, for several months after arriving in St. Louis, to beg bread from their neighbors and rest upon the cold floor.

On Morgan street is situated the neat convent of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, founded for the spiritual welfare of the colored people of the city. The Sisters were brought in 1880 from Baltimore.

The Sisters of the Precious Blood came to St. Louis in 1882. They came from O'Fallon, Mo., where they were first established and where the mother house of the community is located.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST GOLDEN JUBILEE OF A BISHOP IN THE UNITED STATES—ENTHUSIASTIC PREPARATIONS FOR ITS CELEBRATION—IMMENSE ATTENDANCE OF PRELATES AND PRIESTS—HONORS BY THE STATE AND LEADING CITIZENS—ARCHBISHOP RYAN'S SERMON—ADDRESSES BY CARDINAL GIBBONS, ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN, ARCHBISHOP IRELAND, GOVERNOR FRANCIS AND OTHER NOTABLES—RECEPTION OF PRELATES BY THE MERCHANTS.

For the first time in the course of the Catholic Church in the United States it was the fortunate lot of a prelate to celebrate a golden jubilee of his consecration. It was a rare thing to occur in the history of any nation. Only Archbishop McHale, in Ireland, had such an experience in the cycle then passing. Hence the event about to be honored in St. Louis had filled the mind of the whole country with a strange mixture of pleasurable excitement and a sense of distinction. St. Louis was henceforth to be known as a place wherein an unusual manifestation of Divine favor had been vouchsafed to the Church, and all the world would unite in paying homage to the venerable prelate who had not only built up a great diocese, but made it renowned all over two continents by the learning, the sanctity and the strength with which he had guided its destinies. The thought thrilled every heart with pride and enthusiasm.

Preparations were made at an early date to solemnize the great feast with all due state and dignity. Committees had been formed many months previously and invitations sent out to all the American episcopate and

such of the clergy as might be expected to participate. The Pope was not unmindful of what might be expected from the Head of the Church on such an occasion. Through a member of his household he sent his portrait, framed in solid gold, as a special gift and a message of personal congratulation. The Catholics of St. Louis determined to mark their esteem by something more lasting than a ceremony and a pageant. They met in the month of May of the jubilee year (1891), and resolved to buy ground and build on it a suitable new residence for their beloved metropolitan. He himself was the only obstacle. All along it had been found most difficult to carry out the intended programme because of his unwillingness. He shrank from the publicity and the honors which were about to be paid him. His sensitive, retiring nature was altogether averse from anything that brought the fierce blaze of general attention on himself. But his enthusiastic children would not be denied; their affectionate coercion carried the day. The house soon rose, and he was in due course installed in it, before the date of the initial celebration; it was on Lindell avenue, and it is said its cost was about fifty thousand dollars. The leaders of his flock undertook to furnish it throughout, and this they did with the best of taste and judgment.

It was not merely the Catholics of St. Louis that combined to make the jubilee celebration an episode to be remembered; the non-Catholics of the city, in official as well as private leading life, joined in the heartiest manner in the general felicitations. Perhaps the following letter should be, as a matter of historical justice, introduced here as a proof of the good feeling which permeated those outside of the fold, as a result of the Archbishop's sagacious rule. It was written by the Right Rev. Dr. Tuttle, Episcopal Bishop of Missouri:

"My Dear Archbishop Kenrick: Suffer one who has

lately come to the city which has been made an illustrious and sacred place by your fifty years of faithful and holy life in it to send to you his humble word of congratulation. Your own constant personal kindness to me brings the word from the depths of the heart. If I have observed aright, the cares and duties of these fifty years of your episcopal life have never been allowed to make such hard paths as to tread tenderness and mercifulness out of the heart, and the honors of an unwonted half century of conspicuous leadership have never displaced the faithful servantship of the pastoral office, nor in the least effaced the sweet charm of personal humility. God gave you to our city and our State. All we dwellers therein, and the whole nation and the world are the better and purer for your having lived among us and walked before us in the way of unfailing integrity and unselfishness. Let me not be intruding if I say, God be thanked for the long life of consecrated fidelity He has given you. And as the shadows lengthen and the evening comes, and when the busy world is hushed, and the fever of life is over and your work is done, may He lovingly minister to you a safe lodging place and a holy rest, a 'Diversonium viatoris Hierosolyman proficiscentis,' and sweet peace at the last."

Subsequently Bishop Tuttle attended a reception given in honor of Archbishop Kenrick, and kissed the hands of His Grace and Cardinal Gibbons.

A long line of distinguished ecclesiastics soon began to stream into St. Louis. They came from all parts of the United States and other countries as well—Canada notably. The Archbishops and Bishops alone numbered about sixty. Not even at a Plenary Council was such an array beheld at any one time. Other dignitaries only a grade less high swelled the imposing throng, when the great processional day came, until the eye grew weary

of splendid effect in color and movement and rich sacerdotal raiment.

Cardinal Gibbons, with Archbishops Williams, of Boston; Elder, of Cincinnati; Feehan, of Chicago; Corrigan, of New York; Ryan, of Philadelphia; Ireland, of St. Paul; Salpointe, of Santa Fé; Hennessy, of Dubuque; Gross, of Portland (Ore.); Janssen, of New Orleans; Riordan, of San Francisco, and Fabre, of Montreal, headed the array. After these came Bishops Cosgrove, of Davenport; Conroy, of Albany; Fink, of Leavenworth (Kan.); Fitzgerald, of Little Rock (Ark.); Gallagher, of Galveston; Hogan, of Kansas City; Kain, of Wheeling; Keane, of Richmond (Va.); Spalding, of Peoria; Ludden, of Syracuse (N. Y.); Bonacum, of Lincoln (Neb.); Ryan, of Alton (Ill.); McCloskey, of Louisville (Ky.); Foley, of Detroit; Chatard, of Vincennes; Janssen, of Belleville (Ill.); Goldrick, of Duluth; Burke, of Cheyenne (Wyo.), and Scannell, of Omaha (Neb.). The throng of clergy, from all parts of the country, was so great that even the newspapers had to desist from the attempt to give their names, save as to some of the more prominent. Learning came to pay its tribute as well: The great teaching institutions were represented by their respective presidents: St. Louis University, St. Louis, Rev. Joseph Grimmelsman, S. J.; St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, by the Rev. H. A. Schapman, S. J.; St. Ignatius College, Chicago, by the Rev. Thomas Fitzgerald, S. J.; Detroit College, Detroit, by the Rev. Michael P. Dowling, S. J.; St. Mary's College, Kansas, by the Rev. Henry J. Votel, S. J.; Creighton College, Omaha, by the Rev. James F. X. Hoeffer, S. J.; Marquette College, Milwaukee, by the Rev. R. J. Meyer, S. J.; St. Stanislaus Seminary, Florissant, Mo., by the Rev. Thomas O'Neil, S. J.

On the morning of the jubilee the Archbishop celebrated Mass privately in his domestic chapel, and after-

wards proceeded to the Cathedral to attend the ceremonial rite at which Cardinal Gibbons officiated as Pontiff. To Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, fell the task —a pleasing one—of delivering the jubilee sermon. This had more than the significance which ordinarily pertains to such discourses, inasmuch as it was the first occasion on which Archbishop Kenrick's true relations to the Vatican Council and the definition of Papal Infallibility were set forth fully and circumstantially. The occasion was thus rendered historic. Therefore it is well to give the words of the preacher that permanent character in this biography which their importance demands. The Philadelphia prelate, who was of all living persons the most conversant with the inner and outer facts of the episode, thus delivered himself:

"Your Eminence, Most Rev. Archbishop of St. Louis, Venerable Fathers of the Episcopate and Clergy, Dearly Beloved Brethren of the Laity: I know of no more appropriate text by which to introduce the subject of this day's celebration to your attention than an extract from the Pastoral Letter of the Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, first Bishop of St. Louis, to his clergy and people on the occasion of the consecration of his Coadjutor, the present Archbishop of St. Louis, on this morning fifty years ago, and dated Philadelphia, December 1, 1841:

" 'Dearly Beloved Brethren: The Very Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Vicar General of the Diocese of Philadelphia, whose apostolical zeal has been so conspicuous in this city, and to whose merits all the prelates of the American Church give honorable testimony, has been elected Bishop of Drasa and our Coadjutor. An express command of the Sovereign Pontiff having precluded every way of shrinking from the dignity to which he has been called, he has submitted to the will of heaven. We, assisted by his venerable brother, the Coadjutor and

Administrator of the Diocese of Philadelphia, and by the Right Rev. Bishop Lefevre, Coadjutor to the Bishop of Detroit, had the happiness of consecrating him in the Church of St. Mary, in Philadelphia, on the day consecrated to the memory of the holy Apostle St. Andrew, and had the satisfaction of receiving general congratulation on the precious acquisition to us and our diocese of so worthy a prelate.

"'Our heart overflows with joy at this happy event, which we consider is the greatest blessing which Divine Providence has ever been pleased to bestow upon our diocese and upon you, dearly beloved brethren. He will continue to be your Father for a long succession of years.'

"There are occasions in our lives so great and so peculiar, surrounded with such circumstances and connected with such associations, that in place of inspiring the soul of the speaker with the eloquence of which they are suggestive, do rather oppress him by their greatness, and he is tempted to cry out with the lisping prophet: 'I cannot speak.' If ever one had reason to feel thus embarrassed, I certainly have on this occasion. Here in the presence of the venerable man to whom for nearly forty years I have looked up, as father, friend, Bishop and model; here on the fiftieth anniversary of his consecration to the Christian episcopate, towards the close of his long career, when celebrations, no matter how glorious, are but as Indian summer days in the autumn of his life-year, with no returning spring or summer. Here, too, in this Cathedral where he ordained me to the Christian priesthood, where in early manhood I first preached, at his behest, the word of God; here in the presence of this august assemblage, of the Cardinal, with so many of the hierarchy of the United States and Canada and of the clergy of both countries, and the representative of his native diocese, and before you, dear brethren of the laity,

some of you still remembering those early days to which I have alluded; it is impossible not to be impeded by feeling in giving utterance to the thoughts suggested by the occasion and the place.

"To have spent fifty years in the simple priesthood of the Church is an event of such rare occurrence that it is generally celebrated with great ceremony by the favored priest, by his fellow priests and the faithful. I remember when this anniversary was approaching for the Archbishop of St. Louis, and we were about to celebrate it, he absolutely forbade the ceremony in such terms as to leave us powerless to act. I can well understand such prohibition in a man of his temperament, and, indeed, in most thoughtful men, if they were to consult their personal feelings. Anniversaries of this kind to a man who thinks and feels deeply are occasions of serious reflection, if not sadness, and he prefers to be alone with God and his own thoughts. I remember then saying to His Grace, after he had declined the celebration, that he must certainly permit us to commemorate the golden jubilee of his episcopate when that time would arrive, as he was to be the first in the history of the Church of this country to enjoy the privilege. He replied, with a significant smile, 'Yes, it can be done should that time ever come to me.' He has been properly held to his promise, for, thank God, he is spared for this glorious golden celebration.

"We are naturally led back, first of all this morning, to contemplate the scene in Philadelphia fifty years ago, which we celebrate in St. Louis to-day. As the pastoral of Bishop Rosati on occasion of the consecration was prophetic of the long and successful career of his Coadjutor, so the character of the actors in that great ceremony foreshadowed that of the young Bishop whom they blessed. Their names are now historic and shall remain

forever engraven on the pillars that support and adorn the American Church. They seemed as though selected to represent the virtues and qualities of a model Bishop, and to impart them. The consecrator was Bishop Rosati, a man of great sanctity and intense love for God, whose heart expanded with holy joy and who called down heaven's choicest benedictions on his Coadjutor and future successor. He personified holiness of life in a Bishop. Popes have been Bishop Rosati's eulogists. Pope Pius IX. was his fellow student, and always inquired from visitors to Rome from St. Louis about their holy Bishop, his friend Rosati, as he was accustomed to call him. The present great Pontiff told me eight years ago that he had traveled from Rome to Paris with this first Bishop of St. Louis in 1843, and had never met a man whose piety so deeply edified him.

"The first assistant to the consecrator was Francis Patrick Kenrick, the Coadjutor of Philadelphia and brother to the young Bishop. He well represented both the piety and learning which should adorn a Bishop. The greatest of the prelates who have ruled the American Church, his fame will increase with time.

"The second assistant represented the devoted missionary, self-sacrificing spirit which should accompany virtue and learning, especially in a new country. Ordained by Bishop Rosati, and for some time a poor devoted missionary in the wilds of Missouri, Bishop Lefevre, Coadjutor of Detroit, consecrated but a week before by Bishop Kenrick, was the third in the consecrating group.

"Another quality was needed in a new Bishop, that of convincing eloquence, and this was foreshadowed in the preacher of the occasion, who was no other than the celebrated John England, Bishop of Charleston.

"The assistant priest was a man who, in a great degree,

united the qualities of these prelates, and was soon found worthy of a place amongst them—Very Rev. Doctor Michael O'Connor, afterwards Bishop of Pittsburg. The missionary spirit of France was represented by Bishop Forbin Janson, French Count and Primate of Lorraine.

"As these prelates prayed over the young Coadjutor of St. Louis, then only thirty-five years old, the spirit of piety and wisdom and holy zeal and apostolic eloquence which they represented descended upon him. No man who has observed his life and deeds in the episcopate can question this, and the nearer one has lived to him the more clearly and deeply does he realize it. His aversion to anything like display has prevented the great outside superficial world from doing anything like justice to his powers and acquirements. However, he never had a high opinion of popularity as a criterion of merit; and I remember when a very young priest his telling me, not, I think, without a motive, the incident of two Greek philosophers in Athens. When one of them addressed the people and was cheered to the echo, he asked his companion philosopher in a whisper, 'Have I said anything foolish?' While thinking little of general popularity, no doubt, he prized the opinion of really learned and judicious men. But such men seldom pay compliments.

"The history of the Archbishop's long episcopate in St. Louis has been already published in pamphlets and newspapers. From these publications you have learned that in less than fifty years, where there was one Archbishop, without suffragans, there are now five Archbishops, twenty-one Bishops, with proportionate increase of clergy, Catholic laity, ecclesiastic, religious and charitable institutions, schools and colleges. It is for me, however, to call attention rather to the philosophy of that history, to point in more detail to the qualities in the

great central figure in it which helped so much to produce such effects. The first and most conspicuous was his supreme devotion to duty and his utter unselfishness. I know of what I speak, for I spent the first seven years of my priestly life in his house, and knew him intimately for the thirty-two years of my life in St. Louis. From the time of his rising, before four o'clock in the morning, to retiring at nine, he was constantly employed in his great life-work. His perfect regularity gave him ample time for everything. He never thought of his own comfort, and fared no better than the poorest priest of his diocese. Like his brother, of Baltimore, he saw people at all hours of the day, and was truly 'the servant of the servants of God.' He had his brother's wonderful facility of passing from business to severe study, and he could close his ledger after settling up a depositor's account and immediately afterwards be absorbed in an old Hebrew volume. He took no recreation beyond his daily walk. He found that his venerable predecessor had received deposits of money for which there was security in the church property of the diocese. The Archbishop continued this work and was truly a slave to it. It could not be congenial to a man of his ascetic and literary tastes, but he found it most serviceable to the interests of the diocese. By prudent and successful financiering, and a few large bequests from individuals, he was enabled to build up most of the great charitable institutions which are the pride of St. Louis. The people were seldom called on to contribute to the building and maintenance of these establishments. This was the only fault I could find in his financial administration. He did too much by enslaving himself, and did not appeal sufficiently often to the body of the faithful. When he found that he could dispense with the receiving of deposits he did so, with that thoroughness which distinguished his

whole administration. He put all the church property not actually in use on the market, gave notice that all depositors should apply for their money within a year, and thus relieved himself and the diocese of this great responsibility. His prudent management of temporalities obtained for him the reputation of the best business man in St. Louis.

"These occupations did not, however, prevent his attending to the more spiritual work of his great diocese. During Lent I knew him to preach in the Cathedral every night in the week after days of fast and much labor, and to be otherwise most assiduous in the discharge of all the duties of a Bishop. These Lenten lectures led to many valuable conversions.

"I will not dare to enter the sanctuary of his private life and personal piety. You know from the effects what must have been the causes; from the streams what must have been the springs on the mountain top that fed them. In earliest youth he exhibited the marks of a piety which afterwards became so conspicuous. This piety was nurtured and developed by his brother, nine years his senior, the great Archbishop of Baltimore. Before the latter was eighteen years of age he was a member of a Purgatorian Society of men for the recitation of the Office of the Dead and other works of piety. Leaving his native city, Dublin, at that age to study in Rome for the priesthood, he introduced his young brother, only nine years old, to take his place in this pious confraternity.

"The affection between these brothers through life was very beautiful. Though they seldom met, each being busy 'about his Father's business,' yet time and distance seemed but to strengthen the tie. There is a false impression that great piety dries up the stream of affection in the heart, or turns it so entirely towards God that nothing is left of it for humanity. This will not appear

true to those who read of St. Augustine's tears shed for his dead mother, or St. Bernard's eulogy on his beloved brother. When giving an instruction to his monks, this saint thought of his departed brother and burst into tears. He changed the subject of his discourse to a eulogy on this brother. Such was the affection which I believe existed between these two Kenrick brothers. Bound by ties of blood, this bond was strengthened by their love for God.

"To great piety the Archbishop of St. Louis united great fortitude. An impression is not uncommon that people of piety are more or less weak and yielding of character. Of course there is no just reason for such a conclusion. Some of the strongest characters in the history of our race have been among the men of greatest piety. Amongst them was the great warrior King after whom this Cathedral and city are named. They whose motives are perfectly pure and disinterested, who act for God alone and are superior to human respect, ought to be strong and brave. So that piety tends to fortify rather than to weaken. The piety of the Archbishop of St. Louis was ever such. His courage was shown on several occasions during the Civil War. His absolute refusal to take the test oath as a condition for permission to preach the Word of God and for other sacred functions, which oath he believed to be unconstitutional, and which the Supreme Court of the United States afterwards declared to be so, and his command to his clergy not to take it, great as were the penalties, showed a fortitude that few in those trying days possessed. Another instance of his courage was his action at the Vatican Council in regard to the definition of the infallibility of the Pope, and his subsequent submission to that dogma. Whilst it was an undefined doctrine he believed it as such, but also believed that this definition would be injurious

to religion; because, amongst other reasons, that the doctrine was almost certain to be misunderstood by many non-Catholics. Cardinal Cullen, in the council chamber, undertook to reply to his arguments before he knew their author, simply, His Eminence stated, because of their being the strongest arguments of the opposite side. One of the leading prelates, now a Cardinal, inquired of Archbishop McCloskey, of New York, the character of this strange bold prelate of St. Louis. 'I told him,' said Archbishop McCloskey to me, 'that he was a man of great virtue and great learning, to whom the American Bishops for thirty years had looked up as a model.'

"The Archbishop of St. Louis always realized his position as a Christian Bishop, as one of those 'whom the Holy Ghost had appointed to rule the Church of God.' He had sworn obedience to the Roman Pontiff and was ever loyal, but he remembered the clause in his oath, 'Salvo meo Ordine.' 'Without prejudice to my order' as a Bishop, he ever had a consciousness of his official dignity and 'the courage of his convictions.' When the doctrine was defined he submitted fully to that definition. I remember well his return to St. Louis after the Council. As most of you recollect, a splendid public reception was prepared for him, and I was honored by an appointment to prepare and read the address from the priest and people to their returned father. I had not heard from him of his submission to the Vatican decree, but I wrote the address as if he had submitted, as I felt confident he would. However, before reading the prepared document, I consulted him on the previous evening. I represented that priests and people, Catholics and Protestants, looked with deepest interest to what he should say of the Vatican decree, and that it was impossible for me not to allude to it in my address. I shall never forget

how, raising his eyes and hand to heaven, he simply said, 'The authority of the Church above all things, and I follow it.' On the next morning before an immense congregation of priests and people in St. John's Church, of this city, I read the address and announced the fact of his adherence to the decree."

(Here the preacher gave the terms of that portion of the address and the Archbishop's reply which referred to his submission. They have been given already.)

"This solemn public declaration is sufficient, and coming from such a man as the Archbishop, no one should dare to question it. Speaking of him and his action at the Vatican Council and his submission, Cardinal Manning said to me in Rome, eight years ago, 'No two persons could be more opposed than the Archbishop of St. Louis and myself at the Council, but I am thoroughly convinced that he is a great priest and a great man.' Our Holy Father the Pope seems to share these sentiments and has honored the Archbishop by sending him a valuable picture of himself on this great occasion.

"Another source of power and influence in the Archbishop's character is the fact that though constitutionally conservative, he is also at times surprisingly progressive. Hence he is not only a link with the past and the present of the Church, but he is also a link with the future. As early as the Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 he proposed that three new Archbishops should be appointed for the Sees of Boston, Chicago and Milwaukee, and that all the priests in charge of parishes for ten years should have the power to vote on the election of their Bishops. He also desired that such Church regulations as required frequent dispensations should be abrogated entirely, as a law constantly dispensed with had a demoralizing effect. If on other questions he seems not progressive we must bear in mind that in permanent

institutions like the Church, that is most progressive which is farthest reaching, though out of harmony with our present notions which may change. Truth alone is great. Truth alone is progressive.

"In regard to non-Catholics he was always most charitable and appreciative. Nearly forty years ago, before many of the modern conversions took place, I remember his saying to me one day, 'I believe the Church's strongest defenders in the future will be men who are now in the ranks of her enemies.' His published works show the same spirit of charity that ever animated him. Though thoroughly uncompromising where doctrine was concerned, he is ever broad, generous and considerate, as is evident in his admirable work on 'Anglican Ordinations.' The people of St. Louis of all religious denominations have ever felt this, and hence have joined in this magnificent demonstration as cordially, if possible, as their fellow-citizens of the Catholic Church. There is, too, in his books a wise adaptation to the circumstances of our age. Thus, his 'Month of Mary,' a second edition of which Father Faber had republished in London, suggested not merely pious reflections, but gave Scriptural and theological reasons for our honoring the Mother of God, so that some one called it the 'Month of Mary for Protestants.' At the same time it is full of solid devotion, adapted to our age and country. Though doctrines and essential practices be the same everywhere, the outward expression of devotion will vary in different times and countries, as Cardinal Newman shows in his celebrated, but often misunderstood, letter to Dr. Pusey. The Archbishop belongs to the school of the Cardinal, the school of broad but conservative progress and adaptation to the age within the lines of the Church.

"On the question of different nationalities in his diocese, it is simply impossible to conceive a man more

considerate than he has been. The only shadow of objection to him on this point is the fact that he regarded all but English-speaking parishes as succursal. This he believed himself obliged to do, from the fact that the Council of Trent had been published here, and there could be no two canonical parishes within the same circumscription. But he always treated these succursal parishes so much like the others that for many years few knew the difference. For a long period he had only one Vicar General for the entire diocese, and he was a German, to whom he left the almost exclusive management of the German parishes. I believe the heart of the German people to be thoroughly loyal to the Archbishop of St. Louis, and the hearts also of those German priests who really know him. Freedom from prejudice and partiality has ever strengthened his administration. It is true that a love of study on the part of a priest was a key to his heart, but this love is generally accompanied by many other fine qualities, and it alone would not long retain his admiration. His judgment was wonderfully accurate and his personal influence unbounded. During his long episcopate there was but one appeal from his decision, on occasion of the only one great scandal that occurred in all that time. His priests well knew and duly appreciated his high standard of sacerdotal virtue, and that nothing could move him to lower it. If to-day they are not surpassed by those of any other diocese in the country, they owe this high position to the wise administration of him who was at once their ruler and their model.

"Such are some of the causes which, operating for half a century, have produced the wonderful effects which give meaning and lustre to this occasion. Such the man whom God raised up for His own great purposes and clothed with the power and the will to effect them—'a

faithful priest to do according to his heart and his soul and to walk all days before His anointed.'

"The lessons taught by such a career as that of the Archbishop of St. Louis are so obvious and so impressive that they need neither elucidation nor urging. Every man has his mission in this world, and is furnished by God with the means to act it out. We are responsible for the proper use of these means. They are the talents committed to us, and our eternal destiny is to be determined by their use. What marvelous undeveloped possibilities for good are hidden away in the brains and hearts of many men. Let an example like this show what unswerving devotion to duty, piety, courage, freedom from prejudice, with universal sympathy for mankind, can effect in a single yet unfinished lifetime.

"And now it only remains for me, Most Reverend Father and most beloved friend, first in my own name, for I am the greatest debtor of all, and therefore ought to love the most; then in the name of your priests and people so devoted to you, in the name of the hierarchy and clergy and people of the country, to wish you, above all things, sweet and holy peace during the evening of your day. And at the end may those whom you have been instrumental in saving for the last fifty years, receive your spirit at the gates of heaven and conduct it to the throne of the 'Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.'"

There was another sermon connected with the jubilee which deserves permanent record, because of the vivid picture it presented of the troubled times through which the intrepid Peter Richard Kenrick steered the Church in Missouri and the line he drew between obedience to the nation's law and obedience to an usurping law. Bishop Hogan, of Kansas City, preaching in St. Bridget's Church, told his hearers and the world at large how the Archbishop had vindicated the fame of the race of priests

who had passed over the hot ploughshares of tyranny in the penal days in Ireland. He said, *inter alia:*

"It is a little more than a hundred years since the Catholic Church of the United States received apostolic life by the consecration of its first Bishop on August 15, 1790. Within this period about 190 Archbishops and Bishops have been consecrated for the several sees in these United States; their episcopates ranging from six months, the shortest, as in the case of the third Bishop of Vincennes, to forty-nine years nine months and fifteen days, the longest, as in the case of the first Archbishop of Cincinnati. Of all these prelates, departed or living, only one, our Archbishop of St. Louis, counts the links in the golden chain of fifty years since the day of his consecration.

"It has to be said, too, of the eighty-five or more prelates now governing their respective sees throughout England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Canada and British America, that not one of them has attained the blessed hours that to-morrow shall bring to our beloved Archbishop.

"More than this, of the seven Primates, 157 Archbishops and 755 Bishops called by the Sovereign Pontiff Pius IX. of sacred memory to take part in the Vatican Council, not one of them all, as the roster of that Council shows, had from the day of his promotion to the opening day of that Council reached the golden years that to-morrow's sun shall effulge with jubilee.

"And let us not with wonder that not only one, but several generations of Bishops, have come and gone in their respective sees in this period of time. Since fifty years Chicago has had six Bishops; Charleston, five; New Orleans, five; Baltimore, five; New York, four; Philadelphia, four; Detroit, four, and so on through the list as far as I may pursue it. But there is one see undisturbed by the mutations of time whose grand Arch-

bishop stands strong as a pillar, upright as a round tower or landmark of old, the placing of which lies aback of the twilight of our generation.

"The impression on my mind from this singular fact is so strong, the similarity of it to another fact is so striking, and the names connected with both facts so identical, that without seer's knowledge and looking into the future for a thousand years or more, I venture to say of the successors of Peter of St. Louis what is said of the successors of Peter of Rome on the happy day of their inauguration: 'Annos Petri non videbis'—the years of Peter thou shalt not see.

"And there is yet another fact in connection with this great event that is still more striking than any of the foregoing. It is, that in this golden period of fifty years the See of St. Louis has begotten more sees than any that we read of in authentic history. I take the spreading of the Church in Ireland as a great missionary achievement in a short time. Yet it may be questioned whether it be equal to the missionary achievement of the Archbishop of St. Louis in the same space of time. The primatial See of Armagh, of Ireland, was erected by St. Patrick in 444. From that to the close of St. Patrick's life, forty-nine years later, so far as accurately known, but six sees were erected in Ireland, namely, Clogher, Emly, Elphin, Connor, Kildare and Ardagh. I know it is said that St. Patrick consecrated 350 Bishops in Ireland with his own hands. But the greater part of these may have been what were known in those days as Chorepiscopi, not true Bishops, but ecclesiastics, less than episcopal, yet more than sacerdotal. The fact that I have stated of the six bishoprics erected in Ireland by St. Patrick, after the erection of the See of Armagh, rests upon the authority of the 'Missiones Catholicæ,' published at Rome by the Propaganda.

"We will now inquire what the metropolitan See of St. Louis, or rather what the metropolitan Bishop of St. Louis, has done in fifty years in filiations from the parent see. And let me remark here that the achievements of the metropolitan Bishop of St. Louis are not likely to end with his fiftieth year. Let no man be mistaken. The golden jubilee ends the golden years, but there is a period of life more precious than the golden.

"The See of St. Louis held originally in its jurisdiction not only the State and Territory of Missouri, but beyond these, south to Louisiana and Texas, west to the Rocky Mountains, north to the sources of the Missouri and the Des Moines and east to the tributaries of the Illinois and the Wabash. From this territory Little Rock was made a see in 1843; Santa Fé and St. Paul in 1850; Leavenworth in 1851; Alton and Omaha in 1857; Green Bay, La Crosse, St. Joseph and Denver in 1868; Kansas City in 1880; Davenport in 1881; Wichita, Cheyenne, Concordia and Lincoln in 1887. These sees were erected and Bishops appointed for them by the efforts and labors of the Archbishop of St. Louis. Also, it was by his efforts and recommendations that four of these were raised to the rank of metropolitan sees and suffragans appointed unto them, namely, Milwaukee in 1875, with Green Bay, La Crosse, Marquette and Sault Ste. Marie as suffragans; Santa Fé likewise in 1875, with Denver and Tucson as suffragans; Chicago in 1880, with Alton, Peoria and Belleville as suffragans; St. Paul in 1888, with Jamestown, Duluth, St. Cloud, Sioux Falls and Winona as suffragans. Five Archbishoprics and twenty Bishoprics in less than fifty years. Behold the grand field studded with suns and planets, set up and spread out in the ecclesiastical firmament; the work of one whose projects and methods of action in all these vast under-

takings have been unqualifiedly approved and confirmed by the central See of St. Peter.

"Time does not admit to recount the many great works, never ceasing labors and ever pressing responsibilities sustained by the Archbishop of St. Louis for those of his immediate charge—the faithful people of this city so beloved by him, and of this diocese, so dear to him. To these especially were given his fervent prayers, his daily Mass, his pious visits to the most adorable sacrament, his long hours in the confessional, his elegant sermons in Lent and Advent on the great festivals, the grand ceremonies of his Cathedral at Christmas and Easter and the holy week. And there was, too, the impressiveness of his condescension, affability and charity to the poor, to the stranger, to the student, to the religious, to the clergy and, withal, the happy blending of the interior Christian life with the exterior Christian duty.

"Ah! it is no wonder that we, who, too, are past the meridian of life, should give way to our strong feelings, and would fain ask you to bear with us if we give indulgence to them, when we think of the joy and delight we had when we felt ourselves led on by the charming character and noble example of the great metropolitan, forty years ago.

"I cannot attempt here what would be impossible even in several discourses, to give though but an outline of his many visitations of his diocese, of the confirmations administered, the church foundations blessed, the churches consecrated or dedicated, the long and wearisome journeys made from one end of the State to the other, and often into neighboring States and Territories; in both winter and summer weather, in poor conveyances, especially in the first five and twenty years of his episcopate, when bad and impassable roads, unbridged rivers,

prairie swamps, mountain steeps and primitive hostelries tried the patience and endurance of the missionary pilgrim. Aye, could you come with me to the frontier diocese that I attend, to Boonville and Lexington, to Marshall and Independence, to Liberty and Weston, to Kansas City and St. Joseph, and were you to listen to the grateful words spoken of him by the venerable old people whom he blessed fifty years ago, to whom he preached the word of God in their humble log chapels, and on whom he imposed hands in confirmation, you would understand from their aged lips quivering with emotion, and from their faded eyes filled with tears, how gladsome this day of his golden jubilee is to them, how happy they would be to be here and witness it, or were their beloved Archbishop to visit them but once again, or to bless them with even but the shadow of his presence. But it is this city of St. Louis more than any other place that speaks aloud its gratitude. Behold here around you, wherever you look, those cross-crowned edifices; the churches, schools, convents, academies, asylums, hospitals, refuges, instituted by his piety and generosity, or inspired by his zeal. Aye, there are prayers and blessings and grateful tears springing up and welling out this day, and that more deeply than sweetest music touch our inmost souls. They come from the disconsolate widow, the weeping orphan, the aged poor, the penitent Magdalen, the fever-stricken immigrant, the homeless stranger, and to heaven's open gate ascend, for the man of God, who hath kindled a ray of hope to lighten every misfortune and who hath provided a balm to soothe every ill and lessen every ailment that afflicts poor tottering humanity.

"A few words more and I shall have done. In 1865, on April 1, an April Fools' convention, following the madcap ideas of the French infidels, enacted a Missouri

'Civil Constitution of the Clergy,' forbidding them, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to preach or teach, or hold property in trust or otherwise, unless by writ of privilege from the Missouri Jacobins. As I have said, this was not a Missouri idea. It was an imported craze. Missouri but once in its life got all into a madhouse, and that was once too often for its good name and its good sense. When the French Jacobins sought to overthrow liberty in France there were in that country 60,000 priests and 134 Bishops. Of these, 7,000 priests and four Bishops took the Jacobin oath. We have done better than that in Missouri. Not one of us—Bishop or priest —took the Missouri Jacobin oath.

"In the last great Franco-Prussian war there was one grand old general who did not go to the battlefield. He stayed at home in his office. With the maps of the battlefields open before him, he gave his orders. He was a master of strategy. In the Missouri campaign we, too, had our Von Moltke. So far as I know he never went out to see what we were doing, but we knew what he meant, and he knew what we meant, and we all thought we meant right. That was enough. Accordingly, we arrayed ourselves for battle with unbroken front to the enemy. Radicals to right of us, radicals to left of us, radicals before us, radicals behind us 'volleyed and thundered.' 'You rascals,' said the radicals to us, 'why don't you obey the law of your country?' Our Von Moltke for once spoke up. 'That's no law. You owe it to your God and to your country to uphold religion and liberty.' The Supreme Court of the United States said, just as our Von Moltke said: 'That's no law; that's tyranny.'

"There never was an enactment this side of Lucifer's den so vile as the Missouri civil constitution of the clergy. I will give an example. A lady of Washington county,

Missouri, bequeathed of her immense wealth $20,000 to the Archbishop of St. Louis for the education of priests for the St. Louis diocese. The will was contested. See result: Kenrick vs. Cole et al., Mo. Reports, Vol. 26, page 85, regarding will of Maria L. Lamarque. Appeal from Washington County Court, August term, 1868. Louis Bolduc and other heirs-at-law, Missouri Supreme Court, March term, 1870: 'Legacy to Peter Richard Kenrick is void and of no effect, as in violation of section 13, article 1, of the Constitution of the State of Missouri.' Which decision means that under radical rule in Missouri a horse-thief or the keeper of a bawdy house was competent to be legatee, but not Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis. May the good Lord above keep our State and our courts from the infamy of another such decision."

At a banquet which followed the religious celebration Cardinal Gibbons presided and most of the prelates and priests mentioned above were guests. The first address to the Archbishop, after the cloth had been removed, was made by the Vicar General of the St. Louis Diocese, the Very Rev. P. P. Brady. An address to the visiting prelates was then spoken by the Rev. F. Goller. As a reflection of the impression which the general policy of the Archbishop had produced on the minds of the peoples of various nationalities, some of its more striking passages claim a place here. Father Goller said:

"There is no act of his eventful, efficacious life in which the genius of Peter Richard Kenrick shines more luminously than in the generous, wise and just treatment he accorded to the brethren of the faith who arrived in his diocese during the fifty years of his episcopate. From every country of Europe, but preëminently from Ireland, Germany, France and Italy, mighty armies of peaceful men and women have landed on our shores. They came

at America's generous invitation to seek new homes in a land where all men are free and equal before the law. They felt that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were among the inalienable rights of man, and they began to love the country that guaranteed them the free exercise of their rights. They proved themselves worthy of being ranked among the most loyal and active defenders of the Union. If you rejoice in the fact that America is great and glorious and free to-day, that the United States forms the most prosperous, the most enlightened, the most powerful empire of the world, then you owe heartfelt thanks and praise to the adopted sons and daughters of America. Do not call them foreigners, for they are true Americans. Learn to abstract the essential from the accidental, the primal duties of citizenship from the customs and manners of private life. They are loyal Americans, for they love liberty and independence above all earthly goods, above the gaudy pomps of royalty, above imperial splendor. They have demonstrated on many fields of battle how they love their country—America.

"They may still retain a fond regard for the land of their birth; they may still treasure in their hearts the sweet memories of childhood—for only the renegade can forget the mother that bore him—but far dearer to them than the memories of childhood is the strong and beautiful bride, Columbia, who taught them to walk erect on God's earth in the proud consciousness of manhood.

"And the very love they bear their bride, Columbia, renders them anxious to remove every blemish from her countenance and every speck from her bright raiment and makes them rise in solemn protest when self-seeking men endeavor to shield their evil deeds with her sacred name.

"In this free land they claim the right of fair criticism

and of shaping public opinion according to their honest convictions. With all its faults we love the Union, yet, in the words of the brightest and most patriotic sons of America:

"As honor would, nor lightly to dethrone
Judgment, the stamp of manhood, or forego
The son's right to a mother, dearer grown
With growing knowledge.

"Lowell in his noble ode entitled 'Under the Old Elm' most beautifully sets forth the difference between country and nation:

"Our country is
An inward vision, yet an outward birth
Of sweet familiar heaven and earth,
But 'nations' are long results.

"We have a country, but we are not as yet a nation in the full sense of the term; we are, as it were, the rudis indigestaque moles of a nation in the state of formation. All Europe, not England alone, is our mother, and we disdain to become a mere second edition of John Bull. A grander destiny is awaiting us. From the disjecta membra of many tribes and peoples we are gradually forming a new national type; we are absorbing the noble traits of the various foreign nationalities. A hundred, perhaps more, years must roll on ere the typical American will be produced, embodying in himself the commonsense and business capacity of the Anglo-Saxon, the patient research of the German, the keen wit of the Celt, the brilliant dash of the children of France, the childlike piety of Catholic Italy; but when he does make his appearance all the world will recognize in him the ideal man.

"Archbishop Kenrick discerned in Catholic immigration not a danger to the Republic, but a priceless acquisition. Mindful of the word of Sacred Scripture: 'Do

you therefore love strangers, because you also were strangers in the land of Egypt' (Deut. x., 19), our noble prelate welcomed all the children of the Church, unconcerned about their disparity in language and manner. For he based his hopes of a bright future upon the unifying bond of faith. In the corruption of principles, not in the disparity of language, all danger for Church and State is to be found. A good Catholic is at all times a good citizen.

"Archbishop Kenrick never was a time-server, and cared but little for popularity. The study of history and his own experience had convinced him that the welfare of society is impaired by the multiplicity of laws by which our modern philanthropists endeavor to regulate all, even the minutest, concerns of private life. And he was far too strong and independent a man to make any concessions to the liberalizing, or, rather, tyrannizing spirit of the age, which never tires to proclaim prohibition and woman suffrage and the knowledge and use of only one language as the panacea for all evils.

" 'In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.' This is the noble principle from which he never deviated in his intercourse with his priests and with his people. He was firm in exacting what was just, ever ready to grant freedom of action in all matters not defined by Divine or human law.

"Such is the man you are assembled to honor. He undertook many noble works for the honor of God. Divine Providence blessed his labors and crowned him with glory and honor. And honored forever more shall be the name of Peter Richard Kenrick. For it shall be inscribed in letters of gold on the brightest page of history of the great Northwest, the future seat of American grandeur and power."

Cardinal Gibbons, who was the bearer of the Holy

Father's gift to the jubilarian, delivered an address brief but remarkable. In effect it was the declaration of the American hierarchy on the policy of harmony between Church and civil authority then just enounced in the Holy Father's Encyclical on the Constitution of Christian States. His Eminence, in the course of his address, observed:

"In his luminous Encyclical on the Constitution of Christian States, our Holy Father proclaims the fundamental truth—a truth which, though fundamental, is sometimes forgotten or controverted—that the Catholic Church is adapted to all times and places, and that she finds herself at home under every form of government. She is at home not only under monarchical systems, but also under republican forms of government. Thank God, we can here this evening echo back the sentiments of our Holy Father, and, in the light of experience and observation, can affirm that, while the Church has had to struggle and while she still struggles for existence under the dark shadow of despotic rule, she grows and expands like the oak of the forest under the free air of our republican institutions. Nowhere does the Church of God enjoy greater liberty than here, and nowhere does she advance with more rapid strides.

"And nowhere is the benign authority of the Sovereign Pontiff more respected and honored than in these United States. Our filial devotedness toward him is not less strong because less noisy in its demonstrations. Our loyalty to his spiritual jurisdiction is too deep and earnest to be wasted in frothy declamation; the fire that burns in our breast is too sacred to be allowed to explode in rhetorical pyrotechnics. In honoring the Pope, I hope we will not be suspected by unfriendly critics of man-worship. We worship but one true God. We honor the Pope because he is worthy of all veneration. We revere

him not only for his personal virtues, but especially as the highest representative of Christ and the uncompromising exponent and vindicator of our Christian civilization. In his admirable Encyclical on Christian marriage the Holy Father proclaims a truth which has a special significance in our times, and which ought to be heeded by the American people. It is that, if our Christian civilization is to be saved and perpetuated, the sanctity and indissolubility of Christian marriage must be recognized by the masses. He tells us that the married couple are the source of the family, that the family is the source of society, and that the stream does not rise above its source.

"In his latest Encyclical on labor the Holy Father proclaims the rights and dignity of labor and of the laboring man. He tells us that Christ, by His teaching and example, has ennobled labor; that ever since He toiled at His trade in Nazareth He has shed a halo around the workshop. In all his public utterances the Pope proves that he is abreast with the times; that he feels the pulse of the nations, and that he is in sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of humanity. We are grateful to the Holy Father for his paternal interest in the American Church. We are grateful to him for the affection he has always manifested toward the clergy and the people of the United States. We thank him for his message of benediction to the venerable metropolitan of St. Louis on the occasion of his golden jubilee—a patriarchal prelate, in whose honor we are assembled here this evening, and who is the connecting link between the past and the present, who has seen the Church of America in her struggling youth, and who beholds her to-day in her majestic development—a prelate who has seen the episcopate increase from fifteen to eighty-five Bishops, and amid this bright galaxy he has ever been a

burning and shining light for half a century—a prelate sans peur et sans reproche; who, like his Master with the scourge in the Temple, has the courage of the lion to rebuke iniquity, and like his Master at the tomb of Lazarus, has the tenderness of a child when sympathizing with sorrow and suffering; a prelate who has seen the clergy grow from 500 to 9,000; who, in his episcopal career, has seen the Catholic laity expand from 1,500,000 to 9,000,000, and who has seen the general population of the country increase four-fold under the fostering influence of our free institutions.

"We thank His Holiness especially for the token of esteem he has sent to the venerable Dean of the episcopate, and I esteem it a great honor to be deputed to present it in the name of the Holy Father.

"And now, Most Reverend Archbishop, with heartfelt pleasure I discharge my commission by handing you the gift from the Pope."

Another noteworthy address was that of Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York, whose subject was "The Catholic Church in the United States." Archbishop Corrigan said:

"I have read somewhere, if I remember right, that when there was question of the use of the hierarchy in the United States the matter was referred to Benjamin Franklin, who was then our Minister to England. In reply to the query whether the Government would have any objection to the establishment of a bishopric, Mr. Franklin stated that this was a matter which would not concern the Government. The remark of Pope Pius VI. conveys more to our minds than the mere fact that the Church in America is free. It also explains the reason in great measure and the secret of its existence. In almost any other country of the world the Church is persecuted, or if not persecuted it is made to endure

peculiar hardships. In the French Republic at this moment the Bishops and clergy are enduring hardships no one would here think of accepting or enduring—for instance, the condemnation of the Archbishop of Aix in the country which at heart is Catholic, in a country enjoying a republican form of government, because he asserted his rights. But in America all is different. Men of different creeds fought side by side for liberty, and when peace came to our shores created the healthy results of actual experience, and later on the very strength of increasing numbers continued to protect that liberty in religious matters which has enabled and which will enable her, with God's blessing, to give glory to Him in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will.

"This is a gloomy picture. But the Lord has been good, and whilst nothing is perfect on earth, we may with thankfulness look at the reverse of the picture. Catholicity has not been wiped out. The diocese of New Orleans, now narrowed down to one-half the State of Louisiana, counts more than 300,000 Catholics, of whom 80,000 are colored Catholics, more than two-thirds of the whole number in the United States. We are surrounded by zealous and self-sacrificing priests, who increase religion and improve church property in their respective parishes; churches are being built, the debt is decreasing, the trustee system has been abolished or has lost its arrogancy, devoted religious of both sexes increase their labors in the increased number of schools, yellow fever has disappeared, since 1878 greater respect for religion, the Church and its ministers is exhibited by the people, and every year the number of practical Catholics augments. It is with thankfulness to God and with great pleasure that we are able to announce the glories of the Church in Louisiana on this

solemn and extraordinary occasion, when assembled to honor the venerable successor of Bishop Rosati, who from 1824 to 1829, either as Coadjutor or Administrator, labored so zealously for the dioceses now committed to the care of our venerated jubilaris and of ye unworthy speaker.

"May the Lord send prosperity not only to one diocese, but to all the dioceses which have sprung up from it as the branches from the vine; and may the Lord bless the senior of the hierarchy with strength and health for his remaining years and an abundant reward hereafter."

The last speaker of the day was Right Rev. John Hennessy, of Dubuque, Iowa. His subject was "The Province of St. Louis," and he commenced by giving a description of the province in relation to its extent and population. Continuing, he said:

"This valley is destined to be the most populous part of the country, and the Church in it the most prosperous for the excellent reason that Catholics in it are property-holders, owners of the soil, and will be part owners of the untold wealth now latent in its bosom. This is to be the great home of the people. The tide of emigration is westward. There are here great arteries of commerce running through this valley, made by God, owned by no one—free as air to all. These highways will not be neglected in the future as they have been in the past, for reasons that are obvious, in the interests of corporations. The men of the West—Senators and legislators—will demand and obtain appropriations to improve the navigation of these waters. This is no small matter when you recall the fact that fully half the value of the products of the West goes to the railroads for transportation to the seaports. This valley will be populous and wealthy fifty years hence to a degree hardly now imaginable. The Church will grow with the country. She is organ-

ized and fitted for work as she never was before. She has Bishops and priests in sufficient numbers and churches easy of access to all her children. She has, moreover, schools and colleges, academies and universities in sufficient numbers, all of which will, even in the near future, exercise an influence within the Church and outside of it hardly dreamt of now. The Church is growing stupendously here, and of all the great men who have labored to build her up the most cherished name will be that of Peter Richard Kenrick."

It is gratifying to the historian to note that in this hour of joyful congratulation the recipient of such tributes was not forgotten by his native land. Many felicitations came from the old soil, whose tenor was crystallized in the following letter from the Archbishop of Dublin, Most Rev. Dr. Walsh:

"Neither the years that have passed since you left the shores of Ireland, nor the distance that separates St. Louis and Dublin, can efface the recollection that this city was your birthplace. The Catholics of Dublin, and most especially those of the parish of St. Nicholas, where, on so many grounds, the name of Kenrick is still held in veneration, are proud to be able to claim your Grace as a child of this diocese and to remember that some of the first years in the priesthood were spent in ministering amongst their forefathers in the faith. The years, now close upon sixty, that have gone by since you bade farewell to your native city to enter upon your missionary duties beyond the Atlantic have been years of marvelous fruitfulness for the Church in America. They have been marked, too, by many vicissitudes. Catholicity had a hard battle to fight. Powerful forces were arrayed against it, and there were times when the struggle seemed all but hopeless for the Church. But the courage of its pastors, few though they then were and widely scattered,

was not to be broken and the flock was faithful to its shepherds. The history of the fifty years that have witnessed the labors and triumphs of your Grace's episcopate is a stirring and a glorious one for the Catholics of the United States. Its pages set forth no brighter records than those that tell of the noble work done for the faith by the prelates, priests and people whom Ireland has sent into that faithful missionary field. The list of Irish missioners, zealous, self-sacrificing, holy, enlightened and courageous, who have helped to spread Catholicity through America is a long and an honorable one. Strikingly prominent amongst the foremost names upon that roll of honor stand those of your late distinguished brother, the Archbishop of Baltimore, and of Peter Richard, the first Archbishop of St. Louis. It cannot but be to your Grace a source of joy and consolation that you have been spared to witness the present era of peace, prosperity and splendor in the American Church. Many earnest prayers will be offered throughout the length and the breadth of that Church on the day of your jubilee, that God may spare you to live yet many years of fruitful labor in His service in the great country of your adoption; and in the spirit of those prayers the Catholic people of your native city and their Archbishop will most heartily unite."

An imposing jubilee parade of the Catholic societies and civic bodies with fireworks, banners and transparencies followed in the evening. The procession, which was fully twenty thousand strong, and was witnessed by fifty thousand cheering spectators, it was estimated, was headed by the Hon. D. R. Francis, Governor of Missouri, and the Mayor of St. Louis, the Hon. Mr. Noonan, and President Walbridge, of the City Council. The Archbishop sat at a window in the front of his new episcopal residence, reviewing the stirring pageant. As the head of

the moving iridescence approached, the Grand Marshal, Mr. Julius S. Walsh, stopped it, alighted from his steed, and ran up the steps to present to the Archbishop the address of the Catholic laity of St. Louis, which was graciously received, but without any more formal acknowledgment just then. For two hours the massed bodies filed past, and the Archbishop, although the sharp November air made it uncomfortable to remain seated for long, sat patiently watching all the time. It was evident from his manner that he would have willingly dispensed with the ceremony, because of the prominence into which it brought himself; notoriety and laudation were never to him acceptable.

Besides the central function in the Cathedral there were celebrations in various other churches in the diocese. At St. John's Church there was also a Solemn High Mass, the celebrant being Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, assisted by Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, of Dublin (who had come from thence expressly to participate in the jubilee) and by Father Coffey. The church was packed in its every available inch of space. The Right Rev. J. J. Keane, rector of the Catholic University, preached the sermon. The eminent divine spoke with fine oratorical effect. His sermon was a plea in behalf of religion, the argument being that nature inculcated it apart from revelation, but that the Scriptures allied God to man and made God and man kindred. The origin of sin was placed, it being established that God had created man free, not a slave, and that He had endowed this creature, "little less than the angels," and the ruler of all other created things, with responsibility. He made him a free agent, yet if he used his will to sin, and disobeyed the mandates of his Maker, he became without the touch of God, yet God in His mercy had provided a way for man to become in harmony with Him

and His purposes. The mystery of the incarnation was the bridge over which the infinite and the finite might be brought together. Before entering on the body of his address Bishop Keane paid a glowing tribute to the venerable Archbishop Kenrick.

At St. Leo's Church the Very Rev. Francis V. Nugent preached an eloquent and touching sermon on the jubilee. He recalled the coming of Archbishop Kenrick to St. Louis, the immense territory over which he was the spiritual judge and how many great dioceses had been carved out of the original diocese of St. Louis as Archbishop Kenrick found it. He dwelt long on the work of the venerable Archbishop and spoke of how he had seen the country and city grow from almost a wilderness to be the garden of the world, and enlarged upon the like marvelous progress of the people in the same time. He referred to the great fights made for the freedom of the people from an oppressive law, of the work of His Grace in building up the Church and the educational interests of the diocese. In conclusion he declared that without the right spirit in the celebration it would be but empty mockery and the worship of one who was but a man as themselves, but it was because the Lord was pleased with the work of His servant, through whom they were honoring God in the jubilee celebration, that the occasion was made sacred.

But the jubilee demonstrations were not confined to the religious ceremonies by any means. A great number of brilliant social receptions and entertainments kept the city in a pleasurable flutter all the time it lasted. The civil power was strongly represented at the various public celebrations, while the commercial community took care to exhibit the deep interest it took in the general rejoicing, as well as its sense of the great bond of union between the various sections of the community

which so striking a personality as the Archbishop's constituted. The most imposing of these demonstrations was that which took place in the grand Music Hall of the Exposition—a building which, large as it was, proved quite inadequate to accommodate all those who fain would have witnessed the scene to be enacted on its stage as one to be witnessed but once in their lives. The Governor of the State and the Mayor of the city represented the Commonwealth and its power. In the decorations of the hall taste and brilliancy were effectively combined to signalize the harmony in purpose between the spirit of religion and the mission of the State. The stage presented the appearance of a section of an amphitheatre, tier rising above tier. At the side a mass of chrysanthemums and roses stood up like a solid wall, finishing off the sides of the tiers of seats for the choir. The boxes were scenes of varied and beautiful colors. The walls back of them were hung with the Papal and American flags, while from the front railing the Papal colors, white and yellow, and the American red, white and blue were woven together and draped from top to bottom. The box in which the Archbishop and Cardinal Gibbons sat was draped in pure scarlet. The Archbishop sat in the centre and the Cardinal to his right, Archbishop Gross at his left in the third box, and Archbishop Ryan and Governor Francis immediately behind him.

Among the ecclesiastics in the other boxes were Bishop Ryan, of Buffalo; Bishop Radamacher, Bishop Chatard, Archbishop Corrigan, of New York; Archbishop Janssen, of New Orleans; Rev. Canon O'Hara, Archbishop Ireland, Archbishop Riordan, John B. Salpointe, Archbishop of Santa Fé; Archbishop P. A. Feehan, of Chicago; Archbishop Elder, of Cincinnati; Archbishop Katzer, of Milwaukee; Archbishop Williams,

of Boston; Vicar General P. P. Brady, Bishop Shanley, Bishop Cotter, Bishop Richter, Bishop Maas and Bishop Hennessy. A large number of prominent ladies lent an additional charm to the glowing and animated scene.

After the arrival of some of the distinguished guests the musical portion of the programme was begun with a grand march from Wagner. All the Catholic choirs of St. Louis took part in the demonstration, in the intervals between the speeches as well as at the close. Governor Francis was the first on the list of speakers, and his address was most felicitously keyed. The first portion of the musical programme had been got through before the chief guests, the Cardinal and Archbishop, arrived; and their appearance was the signal for a storm of joyous acclamation. It was not until this had subsided that the Governor arose to discharge his part in the affair. He said:

"Most Reverend Archbishop: A man of character has a wonderful power for good among his fellows. When with character are combined position, ability, culture and morality, the value of such a citizen to a community, to the State and to society is incalculable. The companionship of such a man elevates the standard of manhood. His presence in an assemblage broadens the scope of its thought. His residence in a locality has great influence over the lives of its inhabitants; rectitude of conduct is the more generally practiced and wrongdoing the more emphatically condemned. No one can estimate the benefit to the individual of personal association with such a man. It is human to admire and emulate noble traits.

"Our forefathers wisely ordained that in this Government there should be no connection between Church and State. Freedom of conscience is one of the fundamental principles of republican institutions, but that is

a bold man who will maintain that this Government, with its conflicting interests and its discordant elements of creed, nationality and race, could have survived its century and more of struggles and vicissitudes without the law-inspiring influence of the Church. Glaring inequalities in a country whose first tenet of faith is that all men are born free and equal are likely to be looked upon by the unfortunate and inconsiderate as evils to be corrected by force if laws prove ineffectual. Such a calamity has been thus far averted, not by the power at command of those in authority—that has been wholly inadequate—but by the order-observing sentiment of our people, which has upheld respect for law and sustained those representing it. That sentiment it has been the pleasure of the churches of the land to foster and encourage. It is eminently proper, therefore, that the State should pay its tribute of respect to the man who represents in his person such a high standard of the individual, and who stands for an organization which has contributed so materially to the stability of the Government and the welfare of society; to a man who has made his impress on the religious thought of the times; who by his foresight and confidence has aided effectively in promoting and insuring the material prosperity of this city and State.

"I am here as the Chief Executive of a great Commonwealth to extend to you the congratulations of a free, intelligent, patriotic people, among whom you have lived and labored for half a century—to felicitate you upon the completion of fifty years of service devoted to God and humanity. Throughout the centuries of existence of the Catholic Church there has been but one other instance, we are told, where a Bishop has lived to celebrate his golden jubilee. History fails to furnish in civil or religious annals a more striking example of sin-

cerity of purpose and self-sacrificing devotion to duty. The five decades through which your work has extended have witnessed a sevenfold increase in the population of Missouri, whilst St. Louis has grown from a village of 16,000 inhabitants to a city of half a million. Your work has extended through two whole generations, and has had to do with four generations of parishioners. The period of your stewardship covers almost half of our national existence and embraces five-sevenths of Missouri's Statehood. During the time a sanguinary Civil War has been waged. Your own children have been divided and arrayed against each other in deadly combat and the life of the Republic has been jeopardized. No half century in the world's history has recorded more rapid or more wonderful advance in science. The broadest liberality of thought has prevailed, and the freest liberty of expression been permitted. In the midst of all the difficulties and trials, and throughout all the changes time hath wrought, continuing steadfast to the convictions of conscience and constantly pointing to the Cross as the source of all comfort, the only safe guide of conduct and the one sure hope of salvation, you have by your blameless life and noble work grown stronger from year to year in the affections of your people.

"The solace you have brought to the suffering and distressed, the renewed hope with which the despairing have been inspired, the high resolves infused into the halting, can never be worthily expressed or adequately appreciated. Every thoughtful man, striving after better things, can remember in life's experience a word, an expression or an association from a cultured mind or a strong and noble character which gave him new light and incited him to nobler efforts. The position you hold in the hearts of your people is demonstrated by the manifestations of joy that characterize this memorable

occasion. The esteem in which you are held by your brethren throughout the old world, as well as the new, is evidenced by the many tokens and expressions of which you have been the recipient. The great success that has rewarded your efforts in behalf of the Church and your efficiency in business affairs give evidence of an administrative ability and a versatility of talent rarely equaled. The almost superhuman labors you have performed and the numerous responsibilities you have discharged with such fidelity and satisfaction have been possible only through the love for your character which prevails throughout your jurisdiction and the perfect confidence in your justice and integrity that has become so firmly established in the minds of all. Scores of priests and Bishops whom you consecrated cherish for you devoted reverence and an unfailing affection never weakened by impulses of animosity, envy or rivalry. Eminent ecclesiastics and all the men of affairs with whom you have come in contact have accorded you that marked respect and consideration which your high character and intellectual potentiality commanded. In an extraordinary degree have been given to you the ability and the opportunity to do much good and achieve great results, and right worthily have you taken advantage thereof.

"Your acts of benevolence and your good deeds cannot be enumerated and should not if they could. That is not the way to measure a man's merits. He who does his utmost with the lights given him is entitled to as much credit as he who does more, and is infinitely more worthy of reward than he who has accomplished less than his capacity permitted. Of some of the illustrious men of the world it has been said that they live too long for their fame; of others that it was well for their reputation that they died young, but all unite in grateful acknowledgment of that divine wisdom which has prolonged through

so many years of preëminent usefulness the life of one who has constantly risen in the esteem and grown in the affections of superiors, colleagues and subordinates, of clergy and of laity, and, in fact, of all the people. The presence at your home of these distinguished dignitaries from Rome and every portion of our own country on this memorable occasion bears evidence of the important position you occupy in the Church, to whose service your life has been devoted, and attests the high appreciation in which your labors and character are held. To them, in the name and on behalf of the people of the Commonwealth, I have the honor of extending a sincere welcome, and with them the State craves the privilege of uniting to do honor to a great and good man whom it is proud to claim as a citizen. Missouri feels a proprietary interest in one residing within her borders, who, while living for God and the Church, exerts so great an influence for good and believes in rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

"One of the highest encomiums ever passed upon any man was that worthily uttered by Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, concerning his brother in blood and in the Church when he said: 'The Archbishop of St. Louis knows his duties well, fulfills them; knows his rights and will maintain them.'"

In the foregoing utterance there shows a remarkable sense of that truth which was elaborated subsequently in the great Encyclical on harmony between the respective missions of the Church and the State by Pope Leo XIII. Many thoughtless people habituate themselves to the belief that because there is no open union there is total disseverance between the two mightiest forces, the spiritual and the secular governances. It is a complete delusion. The strength of the one is derived from the stability of the other. We feel not the weight

of the air, nor perceive it as we respire it, yet we may not exist without it, and its weight would crush us were we otherwise built, though it seems imponderable as it is. So works the unwritten and invisible harmony between Church and State in every civilized community.

Mayor Noonan spoke briefly, but in a similar spirit, on behalf of the city. Then followed addresses in various languages by different speakers. Mr. Masek led off by a congratulatory speech in the tongue of Bohemia. Mr. Davis O'Ahern spoke his sentiments in Irish Gaelic. The Hon. Henry J. Spawnhorst delivered a spirit-stirring eulogy in the tongue of Goethe and Schiller, and the Rev. Father Orfei reëchoed the congratulations in mellifluous Tuscan. The Hon. Judge Dillon brought the oratorical exercises to a happy close, and then the choirs sang the "Te Deum" ere the vast audience left their seats. During an interval in the programme six of the alumni of St. Vincent's Seminary presented the Archbishop with a splendid banner of silk and gold as a jubilee offering.

A beautiful feature of the festivities was the demonstration of the children of all the city parishes. The Music Hall was the scene of this interesting manifestation. There were fully fifteen hundred of the little ones present. Children of all the different nationalities were there—Irish, German, Polish, Italian; white children, black children, mulatto children. The scene presented while they were being mustered and arrayed was indescribably exhilarating and delightful—somewhat akin to that of a tropical forest at daybreak when the multi-colored feathered denizens start out with flutter and melody to welcome the glorious light.

The little girls of the German parishes were all arrayed in white with golden wreaths on their heads, and to the right of the hall were thousands of children dressed in

sober colors and wearing red hats. The hall was brilliant with banners and bunting. Every child carried the national flag, which was waved with a right good will on each appropriate occasion.

The exercises began with the rendering in masterly style of Professor F. Geck's "Golden Jubilee March" by the Christian Brothers' College Band. This was followed by the children's jubilee chorus, rendered in a style only to be compared with the grand Sunday school May festival chorus in its volume of sound and sweet influence. Then a band of little boys clad in black suits, with broad white sashes across their breasts, marched slowly down the central aisle and took their position just in front of the Archbishop.

When the applause which greeted their appearance had subsided Master Hester stepped forward and read the following address in a clear voice, easily understood by the vast assemblage:

"One day in fair Judea sat the Lord
  While round Him circled crowds of eager men,
And sweet as music rose the sacred Word
  By Jordan's banks and shepherds' silent glen,
Till weak disciples woke to hope again.
  Judea's mothers, by the tidings stirr'd,
Led forth before the throng a youthful train,
  And Jesus bless'd them, promis'd great reward—
  The loving sons of God should have an Angel guard!

" 'Suffer the little ones to come to me!'
  Thus spoke the Lord, and thus you too would say,
Christ's consecrated Prelate! So we see
  Great smiling crowds this joyous festal day
Whose youthful lips your sweetest blessing pray.
  Stretch forth your hands as Christ in Galilee,
And ask the angels still to guide our way
  Through weal or woe, whate'er our lot may be—
  Forever true to Christ and heav'n's sublime decree!

"Great Prelate! long ago you pressed your hands
  On heads that now are white with snows of years,
And some, since then, have roamed through many lands,

And some are tott'ring through this vale of tears,
And some are resting where no care appears!
Still Mother Church in youthful beauty stands,
And leads her children free from worldly fears,
From year to year in hopeful, happy bands,
Before the aged chief, who works as zeal demands.

"Two lights conduct us as the seasons roll,
Twin lights of faith and knowledge undefil'd,
They beam resplendent on the youthful soul,
And guide the young to Virgin Mary's child.
Dear Prelate! you have prais'd the mother mild
And spread her fame on history's fadeless scroll.
In summer's glow, in wintry tempest wild,
May you for many years be still our Prelate styl'd."

Other addresses and poems were presented and recited by the pupils of various institutions, and perhaps the most affecting of these was that given in pantomime by ten deaf mutes, young women pupils of St. Joseph's Convent, their finger speech being interpreted, as it proceeded, for the Archbishop by other young girls who were more fortunate in the possession of all their natural faculties.

The entire body of children then sang "Hail, Columbia," and when this was finished Archbishop Ryan reminded the Archbishop that his name was on the programme for the next address. The aged prelate replied: "I cannot; this is simply overwhelming. Say something for me." Archbishop Ryan then said:

"My Dear Children: Your venerable father has asked me to say a few words to you in his name. Unprepared except by this preparation, except by this magnificent scene, the equal of which I have never witnessed [applause], unprepared except by its inspiration, I say to you, but first I say in thanksgiving as it would go out from his great paternal heart, 'Praise be to Jesus Christ.'

" 'Gelobt sei Jesus Christus.'

"I would repeat it if I could in every language that was spoken here to-day, in the language of the various nation-

alities which addressed and stirred his paternal heart until he unburdened himself to me and said: 'It is simply overwhelming.'

"Overwhelming it is, the confession of all these varied nationalities mingled in this glorious country, united by the love of Jesus Christ, united in patriotism to the adopted country, the flag and the inspiration of these flags waving upon them, those who held them, the flag-bearers, sing 'Hail, Columbia.' [Loud applause.] In this hour of religion and patriotism of every nationality as regards paternity, you are one nationality, true to God. true to your adopted country, true to those teachings of faith that will perpetuate your virtues and your patriotism! Where in the whole world could there be such a scene as in this hall to-day? From the mouths of infants praise has been perfected. You come because our Lord said: 'Suffer the little ones to come to Me.' You come to His representative who imitates His tenderness to the little children. The orphans come to their father. The little children come as the representative of our divine Lord and praises were proclaimed in every language represented here, and from the mouths, I may say, or rather from the heads and the hearts of dumb, come forth praise. [Applause.] Oh, glorious scene! Oh, splendid inspiration! Oh, magnificent evidence of the power and unity and the beauty of one glorious Church, the spouse of Jesus Christ [applause] that loves you, that cherishes you, that fosters you—all this is exhibited before men and angels in this glorious assemblage. [Applause.] My heart is touched as it never was before; I cannot give expression to the thoughts that flash from the intellect, and the emotions that stir the soul to its deepest depths and fill every fibre of my heart as I look upon you dear lambs of the flock, now in the morning of your life, now with the flowers of promise blooming around you, now

beginning life, coming to him who is approaching its end, and with your young hearts full of tenderness towards him, paying to your aged father the tribute of your veneration and love, in every tongue."

A brilliant reception by the Marquette Club gave an appropriate finish to the day's proceedings. The most interesting and unlooked-for feature of the whole festivities was one connected solely with the business community of the city. It struck the men of the Stock Exchange—the great merchants and financiers of St. Louis—that it would be a graceful thing to manifest their interest in the doings that betokened the general joy by inviting the great dignitaries of the Church to visit the heart of trade and observe the processes by which the complicated machinery of exchange and barter with every part of the globe is operated. The president, Mr. Bernheimer, on behalf of the committee, forwarded an invitation to that effect, and in response thereto all the distinguished prelates above enumerated, together with many priests and prominent laymen, proceeded to the Stock Exchange. They were greeted with cordiality and respect, and marched in processional order to the rostrum, where seats had been provided for a large company. In the St. Louis *Republic* appeared the following report of the unique proceedings:

"President Bernheimer sharply rapped for order, and it was obeyed with greater alacrity than was ever noted on 'change. He then introduced the prelates in the following speech:

"'Gentlemen: It is not often the Merchants' Exchange has the honor of entertaining clergymen, and when we do we consider it a high honor. To-day, however, we are especially honored by having as our guests the most prominent dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in America, who are in the city to do honor to

the noblest man in Missouri, His Grace of St. Louis. It is decidedly an honor, and we feel deeply gratified at their attendance. We invited them to visit our exchange to-day, as we feel that honor should be done to whom honor is due, and where is it more owing than to the grandest citizen St. Louis ever had, Archbishop Kenrick. Gentlemen, allow me to introduce to you now the prelates who are present.'

"Archbishop Ireland was then called upon and responded with the following address, which proved conclusively that he knew just what to say in a great mart of trade, and was, in fact, as much at home on 'change as in the pulpit:

" 'Gentlemen: You are doing us to-day great honor in coming to meet us on 'change, and we, the guests of Archbishop Kenrick, are particularly delighted in seeing, in his own city, the business men assembled to do him honor and to recognize publicly that during the fifty years of his episcopate in St. Louis he has met with the approval of his fellow-citizens of all classes and all creeds. [Applause.] I must say a few words, a very difficult thing, for clergymen are not supposed to know very much of what is going on on 'change. I can only say, as a friend of mine intimated as we were coming upstairs, that you have certainly to-day a "corner" on Cardinals and Bishops. [Laughter.] It is not supposed that we know very much, as I said, about your occupations, but we know a little more than you sometimes give us credit for knowing. The Church is very much interested in your affairs; the Church keeps her head lifted up towards the skies, but her feet are on the earth, and as you prosper so she in many regards prospers also. And if the Church on this continent has, during the last century, made such wondrous progress, it is because her lot has been cast along pleasant lines; it is because we have a

great country, a great agricultural region and energetic, enterprising citizens.

"'As your president kindly intimated, I, in particular, am very much pleased to meet the business men of St. Louis. In the early '60s I visited your city. I was present at a school examination. The question was put by a teacher to a small boy: "Which are the great cities in the Mississippi Valley?" And the boy said instantly: "New Orleans, St. Louis and St. Paul." I have always had the kindest recollection of St. Louis since that time. The citizens of the Mississippi Valley grow or fall together. Their fortunes are linked indissolubly, for good or ill, for all time. It will not do that we say too much about the valley to-day, for here we have with us Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Corrigan of the Atlantic seaboard, and, I believe, Archbishop Reardon from the Pacific, but it is the truth and we cannot help speaking the truth.

"'We are the centre of the Continent, which we are aware very soon shall be the centre of population, which is constantly moving westward, and as it is moving westward it comes right into this valley, and we don't want it to move very far westward after that. Right here is the centre of exchange between the products of Europe, coming through New York and Baltimore, the products of Asia and the isles of the Pacific Ocean coming in through the cities of the Pacific seaboard. Right here we have the very centre of the great agricultural region of America, and we have made ready to develop all its resources.

"'All we need is the facility and cheapness of transportation in order to send our products to all parts of the world. We are very willing to send by rail down to New York what we cannot send directly ourselves to Europe. But if we could send our products directly

right from our cities in the Mississippi Valley without any additional cost of handling two or three times, we would be better pleased. Up North we do that. This summer we have made several shipments of wheat directly from Duluth to Liverpool, sending in each one of our whalebacks, as we call them, 900,000 bushels. We are not fully pleased because as things are at present our whalebacks get over to Europe, but they cannot come back to Duluth from Europe. We need improvements in our waterways so that you can load your vessels from Liverpool right here in St. Louis and send them down by the Gulf of Mexico, or up through the Hennepin Canal and load them to be unloaded right in Havre, France, or Venice, Italy, or Trieste, Austria. We must save the handling of wheat three or four times. Of course we are loyal to our Government and well pleased with what it has done for us, but we believe it could do a little more for the Mississippi Valley.

" 'We are very glad to have eminent prelates from the East right here to-day that they may tell their people what a great people we are right here in the valley, what we intend to do, and you may be sure we at St. Paul—I should have said in the twin cities, because if it was heard up North that I said St. Paul without saying Minneapolis there would be jealousy in Minneapolis, and I represent the two—are going to instruct our representatives in Washington to get large amounts of money for the improvement of our waterways, because money spent here will develop these regions as nothing else will.

" 'As we look around St. Louis, with its population of half a million of inhabitants, we think of St. Paul, which would be put down at 160,000 or 170,000, and Minneapolis a little more. We want to be able to say we have 450,000 up there and rapidly going to a half million. I hope for the sake of the Mississippi Valley

and for the sake of the country at large, that you, the business men of St. Louis, will put into your business all possible energy and enterprise. It is energy and enterprise that win everywhere; they win in the Church, they win in the State and they win in business.'

"Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, entered unannounced shortly before the conclusion of Archbishop Ireland's address. He was called upon for a speech and responded as follows, after an outburst of applause, provoked by his appearance, had subsided:

"'I sincerely regret, gentlemen, that I find myself unable to address you as I would; my voice is so hoarse that I cannot be heard with all the surrounding noise through the hall. I feel at home again, amid the people of St. Louis, and especially the merchants of your city. Living here for many years, knowing the city as I did and knowing that if you only utilized its immense advantages, especially that to which the Archbishop of St. Paul alluded—this mighty river—I knew that your great progress was inevitable. I remember one morning seeing a notice in the *Republic* that so many hundred trains left St. Louis, all loaded with corn. I noticed that a large number of trains had left Chicago, but the amount that left St. Louis was three or four times as many. It seemed absurd, but the amount of corn that was sent by boats on the river was equal to the amount of corn that could be sent by those hundreds of trains. I remembered all these advantages of St. Louis and its magnificent future, and I remember also when I went to Philadelphia some one consulted me about the investment of money in some Western city, and I went to a banker, who requested me not to give his name, as there was a certain amount of jealousy in those Western cities, and he was a representative man; but he told me in confidence: "There is no city in the United States that has

the substantial credit of the city that you have just left—that is, St. Louis." He continued: "There is no unhealthy progress there; there is every evidence of steady advance that will be permanent. Other cities—he said nothing about St. Paul (laughingly turning to Archbishop Ireland)—other cities shall rise and fluctuate, but the progress of St. Louis will be permanent. The Archbishop of St. Paul said the rivalry with Chicago has done you good. That rivalry must continue; and there is in St. Louis with the spirit of progress a conservative spirit also that alone can render progress healthy and permanent. I have been admiring the western part of your city, and I have seen the evidences of wonderful progress in the seven years I was in Philadelphia. I have seen it here on my return. Having lived here for a generation, how cold would be my heart if I were not proud of that progress and if I didn't feel that your progress was the source of exaltation and honest pride in my heart. The Archbishop of St. Paul has spoken of the twin cities, but even with them united you have one greater than his two.

"'But in this "tale of two cities," as we look down upon this meeting, you have every reason for emulation. He would unite those cities, but some one told me some time ago, a short time ago, there was a picture published showing a small, good-looking, bright young man, very small apparently, and a young lady much larger; and between the young man and the young lady stood the Archbishop of St. Paul, and when the Archbishop said to the young man, whose name was Paul, "Wilt thou have Minnie here present for thy lawful wife?" and Paul said, looking at her future progress, "I will," and then the Archbishop said, "Minnie, wilt thou have Paul here present for thy lawful husband?" she said, "Such a little fellow as that!" The Archbishop, with all his per-

suasion, could not effect the union, but he is going to, as it is to the interest of Paul to take Minnie, and to the interest of Minnie to take Paul. Of course the Archbishop has been working with might and main, but chiefly for Paul.

"'I hope that the day will come when they will be united as St. Paul, at the head of navigation, or whatever name they will bear after their marriage. Whatever name they will bear after their marriage it will be the head of navigation, St. Louis at the centre and New Orleans at the foot of this great river. These will be the great cities of the interior. I love the West, and I love also—for they have been kind to me—the East; they have received me kindly. After more than thirty years living among you I went to them as a stranger, but kindly they received me, and now I feel that I love the West, and I know the East, and I have been to the North. I feel that commercially and politically as well as religiously I am more of a Catholic; I feel that God will bless this land, and I say, without flattery, all the elements are here to produce the greatest nation that ever existed on the face of the earth, only, only let the holy influence of religion and morality, that give the motive to real progress, go hand in hand with your magnificent political progress, with your commercial progress, and then morally as well as physically, religiously as secularly, there will appear a union more glorious than any ever existed in the past, here progressing, here to be perfected upon the face of this glorious world.'

"President Bernheimer then introduced Bishop Keane, of Washington, with the remark: 'We have heard from the Northwest and the East, and now we will hear from the prelate of the capital city of our country. It gives me pleasure to introduce Bishop Keane.'

"Bishop Keane made a brief speech, in which he complimented the West, and particularly St. Louis. Referring to efforts in the past to remove the national capital to the West, the Bishop said it never could be done, and that Washington City would always remain the capital of the United States, because of the intense rivalry existing among the Western cities. He deprecated the idea that the United States should look to the Old World for anything. The United States was a country too grand, too vigorous, too enterprising to look to Europe. This country was the hope of the world, and had a future that no foreign power could equal.

"President Bernheimer then introduced Cardinal Gibbons, the distinguished head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the United States. Cardinal Gibbons' address was as follows:

" 'I declined to make any remarks, owing to the fact that my voice, never very strong, is very much weakened by a cold this morning. At the same time I could not decline the repeated invitations of your honored president to add one word to those that have been so well spoken by the several Archbishops already. I am glad that the Archbishops in their several addresses have referred to the honorable rivalry and emulation that exists among the various cities of the Union. This emulation is well calculated to promote the progress of those respective cities. I remember I was traveling out West some years ago and was detained for a short time in the city of Helena, Mont., and I was accustomed to be addressed and to say a few words in reply. I found that the most gratifying remarks that I could make on occasions of that kind were to dilate upon the prospective growth and development of the city in which I happened to be living. I spoke of the wonderful progress of Helena, and I remarked that if we could judge the future of that city

by its antecedents I would predict for it in the near future a population of 100,000 inhabitants, and my remarks were greeted with applause. Two days afterwards I addressed the people at a town called Spokane Falls, in Washington Territory, an address having been made to me there. I touched upon the same points, the past history and the future prospects of Spokane, and I went on to say that if we could judge of the future of Spokane by its past history we could predict for it a population of 50,000 inhabitants. My remarks were received in silence, and I at once knew that I had made a great blunder. I had discovered, when it was too late, that Spokane was the rival of Helena, and I had given them only 50,000, while I gave 100,000 to Helena, her rival.

"'I am very sorry that the Archbishop of St. Paul did not succeed in consummating that marriage between Minnie and St. Paul. However, I trust, with God's blessing, that that marriage will be one of these days consummated by the Archbishop himself, and then he will have a population of nearly half a million inhabitants.

"'Gentlemen, I rejoice to-day in this union. To-day religion shakes hands with commerce, and when I look around upon this hall so vast and full of enterprising citizens, I conclude that religion and peace have their victories as well as war.'

"This ended the formal reception. Archbishop Kenrick and Cardinal Gibbons were at once escorted to their carriages, but Archbishops Ryan, Ireland, Corrigan, Elder and other clergymen remained for a few moments upon the floor, conversing with friends and watching the antics of the 'bulls' and 'bears' in the wheat pit. This was the first time that Archbishop Kenrick ever set foot upon the floor of the Merchants' Exchange."

Many other manifestations of the feeling which

animated not merely St. Louis, but the whole country, over this unique jubilee, might be chronicled, but to trace them in detail is beyond the scope of a biography; those who would wish to recall them must go back to the newspaper files of the day. It is enough to say that the heart of the country was stirred by the event as it never had been stirred before, and the awakening of interest in the Catholic Church which it excited cannot but have been productive of blessed, if unrecorded, results in many quarters.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER THE JUBILEE COMES DECLINE—APPOINTMENT OF DR. KAIN AS COADJUTOR—GRADUAL ENFEEBLEMENT OF ARCHBISHOP KENRICK. CLOSING DAYS—HIS DEATH AND FUNERAL. AFFECTING SCENES—ARCHBISHOP RYAN'S TOUCHING SERMON—CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS.

The full-blown rose has attained all its possible sweetness and beauty when its hour comes; its part is played, and henceforth it can only prepare to die. The venerable Archbishop had seen his golden jubilee; he might have said, with the grateful Moor, prophetic even in the surfeit of his happiness:

> ——If it were now to die
> 'Twere now to be most happy; for I fear
> My soul hath her content so absolute
> That not another comfort like to this
> Succeeds in unknown fate.

It was noted that the touch of decay was on the frame, if not the mind of the patriarch, from that day forward. Perhaps the strain had been too great for his physical powers, and when the crucial time had come and gone, the vital principle, artificially stimulated with the note of preparation, began to feel the influence of a reaction. Soon it became evident to all around that his foot was on the slope whose inevitable goal no mortal power can avert or put off. But even to the slowly dimming eye there came gleams of solace and satisfaction, for if he were conscious that he was sinking, did he not see around him daily evidence that others were rising to take the spear that was falling from his hand and don the armor that had grown too heavy for his frame?

Everywhere, as far as his vision ranged, the Church of his love was prospering, and he blessed it even as the moribund prophet blessed all the tribes. "And to Nephtali he said: Nephtali shall enjoy abundance, and shall be full of the blessings of the Lord: he shall possess the sea and the south." Only a year had passed since the jubilee, and the inroads made upon his health had been so serious that all his friends took alarm and began to discuss the situation among themselves. They saw that the Archbishop, try as he might, was no longer able to fulfill the arduous duties of the prelacy; he must have the help of a younger hand. In the summer of the following year (1893) the agitation culminated in the selection of the recently deceased Archbishop, then Bishop of Wheeling, W. Va., the Right Rev. John J. Kain, as Coadjutor and Administrator of the diocese, with the right of succession.

Archbishop Kain was born in Martinsburg, Va. (now West Virginia), May 31, 1841. At the age of sixteen he presented himself as a student for the priesthood at St. Charles' College, Ellicott City, Md., being one of the same class with Archbishop John Joseph Keane, of Dubuque. The two young men were firm friends, but also great rivals in their studies, and both attained high honors. Their names being pronounced exactly alike, there was great difficulty in distinguishing them apart, and finally the students adopted the plan of calling student Kain "Old Virginny" and student Keane "My Maryland." Graduating from St. Charles' in 1862, the future Archbishop entered St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, in the same year. There he also took high honors and was ordained a priest by Archbishop Spalding in the Baltimore Cathedral July 2, 1866.

His first assignment was to the little church at Harper's Ferry, Va., overlooking John Brown's fort. His parish

covered a territory of about forty square miles. He had to visit more than half a dozen counties. He was indefatigable. Churches destroyed during the war he had to rebuild. Sometimes he traveled great distances to preach to only half a dozen farmers and their wives. His sermons were always carefully prepared and delivered with all the oratorical powers which subsequently made him famous, and his reputation gradually extended throughout Virginia, West Virginia and into Maryland.

In 1875, upon the death of Bishop Whelan, of Wheeling, W. Va., he was appointed Bishop of Wheeling. A touching feature of the ceremony of his consecration, on May 23 of that year, was the presence of his mother, then in her eightieth year. In Wheeling Bishop Kain continued his hard work and built up and strengthened the sparsely settled diocese, contributing greatly to its present prosperous status. It was considered certain that Bishop Kain would sooner or later wear the pallium, and it occasioned no surprise when, in 1893, he was appointed titular Archbishop of Oxyrynchia and Coadjutor, *cum jure successionis*, to the Archbishop of St. Louis.

From the time his Coadjutor was appointed it was plain that the Archbishop's thoughts were concentrated on the coming change and the preparations necessary for the ordeal. He took no further part in the active business of the world, leaving all such affairs to be disposed of by his energetic Coadjutor.

Though his decline now began to be rapid, it was still wonderful that he had not begun to fail much earlier than he really did, when it is remembered how laborious had been his daily life ever since he had lost the services of his Coadjutor Bishop, how assiduous his attention to the secular side of his administration, and how nearly approaching to asceticism were his daily and nightly

regimen and habit of life. No office clerk worked harder, no anchoret was more severe on himself in the matter of diet and sleep, down to the penultimate hour, so to speak. From the day that he was ordained he had made it a rule to take no more than six hours' sleep; he usually rose before four o'clock, and from that hour until Mass he was invariably occupied in prayer, meditation and the reading of his Breviary. When his attendants saw him failing they became much alarmed and took measures to prevent any calamity coming suddenly or finding them unprepared. Dr. Gregory, his physician and devoted friend and admirer, was unremitting in his watchfulness, and when the Archbishop's condition seemed critical he recommended that a watch be kept during the night-time. For this purpose Brother Herbert, of the Alexian Hospital, was engaged for three months before the end came. The faithful Negro servant, Tom Franklin, was, besides, unremitting in his vigilance, attending to his every need, and displaying constant solicitude.

But despite all this loving surveillance, the end came and found them all unprepared for it. The Archbishop had got a chill and became slightly feverish on the evening of the 3d of March, 1896. Previous to this he had been in seemingly fair physical condition, having taken his meals and indulged in his usual promenade up and down the corridor of his residence. He was compelled to retire to bed when he felt the effects of the cold, but after taking a warm draught said he felt better. Then he fell asleep and seemed much improved in the morning. But in the course of the day he was again seized with the chill, and the doctor having been summoned found him suffering from a severe cold. Still he thought there was no immediate danger, and in this belief left him for the night. Archbishop Kain, who was busy looking after important diocesan matters, also felt that there was no

ground for his remaining in the house to watch. Still, for the first time, the Archbishop declined dinner, and Tom, his wistful attendant, became much perturbed over the fact and more lynx-eyed in his watching. He asked him, late in the night, would he like to have the bedroom made warmer, and the Archbishop faintly said: "Yes." Tom went down to look after the fire, and when he returned he found that another visitor had come there unannounced. The Archbishop never spoke more.

Death had brought with him no sting or pain. On the fine face of the sleeper there rested a sweet smile, and there was nothing to indicate that the tenement was at last vacant but the pallor of the countenance and the numbness of the hands.

In a like way God had called the brothers to His service, and so in a like way did He summon them to Himself when their work was done. After life's fitful fever they both slept well. Ere their eyes had closed forever, the fading light of earth must have melted into the tender radiance from the veiled eternal altars, that they both had seemed so infantile in their sleep, or else God's angels had borne to them from heaven the sweet kiss of peace.

And when he lay dead, arrayed in the wedding garments of his sacred office, another curious thing was beheld. The face of the man of nearly ninety—the face which only a few days before had been that of old age, with its furrows and lines and seams of long drawn-out combats with dark care and inward trouble of multitudinous kind—had renewed itself. Verily it was the same face as the people of St. Louis had seen when he first came among them—the sort of face which the Greek sculptor strove to catch when he would blend the tenderness of the woman with the firm purpose of the man in the calm beauty of the Pallas Athene. Were it

not for the whiteness of the locks that clustered around the noble brow, there was little to tell that half a century had swept by since first the people of the city had looked upon the features now still in the mysterious seal of death.

The obsequies of this well-beloved pastor told well of the place he had gained in the heart of the Church and that of the city—the heart of all the country. If he had been honored by every outward token of love in his jubilee, he was mourned by every form and symbol of that grief whose reality mocks all symbol when the people at last realized the magnitude of their great loss. Fully thirty thousand people, the newspapers estimated, gathered in and around the old Cathedral on the morning of the solemn obsequies, while all the preceding days, when the dead prelate reposed in state on his catafalque, the multitudes who came to do him reverence were so great as to defy all attempts to measure their volume. People of all denominations filled the Cathedral at the beginning of the last solemn rites—Protestant clergyman and Jewish rabbi, stern Calvinist and elastic Unitarian. The wealthy merchant was there, alongside the humble mechanic, and the silent tear of the poor widow whose benefactor was no more to cheer her dreary way mingled with the grief of the richer sister whose sorrow, mayhaps, had been deeper than hers because of some wound which only the balm of heaven, flowing from the lips now cold in death, could assuage.

Cardinal Gibbons presided at the Requiem Mass. Along with him were Archbishops Ryan, Feehan, Ireland, Elder, Katzer and Kain, as well as Bishops Hennessy, Scannell, McCloskey, Foley, Heslin, Rademacher, Ryan, Janssen and Cotter. The sanctuary and front seats were filled with the priests of the diocese and a vast number from outside. To Archbishop Ryan had

fallen the task of giving expression to the feeling of all on their great loss. It was hard to have to do it, since the relations between him and the dead had been something akin to that of flower and stem or younger branch and older branch of the same vine. The emotion which the preacher exhibited was not that of the orator, but the bereaved friend, the filial sorrow for the beloved parent whose wise counsel and cheering smile were never more to light the way of life. After nerving himself for his sorrowful task by prayer Archbishop Ryan began his farewell address, taking for his text the words of the prophet Jeremiah:

" 'Weeping, she hath wept in the night, and the tears are upon her cheeks: her priests sigh, her virgins are in affliction, and she is overcome with bitterness.' (Lamentations of Jeremiah, 1 chap.)

"Most Eminent Cardinal, Venerable Brothers of the Episcopate and Clergy and Dearly Beloved Brethren of the Laity: In these words of the sorrowing prophet, I commence the address on this most melancholy and impressive occasion. This archdiocese, so long the spiritual spouse of the great Archbishop, weeps beside his bier. The tears have been on her cheeks, and she has wept in the night as her children have kept holy vigil over those venerable remains. Her priests sigh as they think of the past. They were witnesses to the sacrificing devotion of the great man whose body lies before this altar to-day. Her virgins are afflicted—the consecrated virgins in the convents, asylums, hospitals and schools feel the loss of their tender father; and up from the well of their pure hearts come tears of mourning. And you, the people, loving him, loyal to him for so many years, you are oppressed with the bitterness of anguish. In your hearts his memory shall ever be enshrined, as it was enshrined in the hearts of his priests.

"Need I ask wherefore this sorrow? In that coffin he rests, vested with the vestments of the perfection of his priesthood. But never again shall he offer sacrifice. And the altar is in view, the altar where so often and so fervently he offered the sacrifice, each Mass as if it were the first or the last of his life, with a realizing, vivid faith, with tenderness and devotion, with deepest, with most profound humility. And the throne from which he ruled for so long a time in wisdom and in justice and in mercy, another must now occupy. His throne is now the bier of his mortality. It is true that this event was expected. It is true that he less died than faded away, that the great powers of his great mind preceded him, to some extent, to the grave. But should we love him less and mourn him less because he wasted for us, and then died? We do not expect in the setting sun the heat and dazzling brilliancy of its noon, and he shone as the sun in the temple of God, as has been said of another priest. And as the sun went down, as the life went out, he may have seemed, indeed, less great, but he was more beloved. We expect not in the autumnal flower the freshness and the fragrance of the springtime, but we do not the less remember the associations connected with it. 'And all flesh is grass, and the glory thereof as the flower of grass; the grass hath withered and the flower hath fallen.' We saw him, a stately lily in the garden of the Church, and we saw the lily droop till the powerless stem could no longer keep elevated the golden chalice, and when the lily drooped the stem and lily fell; and we felt that the flower hath fallen.

"What can I say, what can any man say, that would be more eloquent than his priest's history, or more eloquent than this scene? Around that coffin are grouped the memories and affections of half a century. The old are here, who saw him in the strength of his manhood,

grasping the crozier of authority, and who heard his voice in this Cathedral with a power, a logic and an unction that convinced the intellect and touched the heart. The Archbishops and Bishops and clergy who have come from afar to do honor to his memory represent the great American Church, on which he has left the indelible impress of his individuality, that of a really great man. And you, Most Eminent Cardinal, you are here, in a certain sense, to represent the Sovereign Pontiff himself—you who paid to him the highest tribute, and at the same time revealed the depths of your own humility, when you told me that sooner than permit him to do any act which would declare him your inferior, by kissing your ring or kneeling for your blessing (as he was stated to have done), you would rather go down and kiss his feet. And of all who mourn around his coffin there is, perhaps, no one who is a greater debtor to him than I; and, perhaps, it might have been better for me to have cried out with the psalmist, 'I am afflicted and in silence.' But I could not refuse to lay upon the coffin of him who was my best friend and tenderest father for many years this tribute of my final love. When, more than four years ago, we celebrated the golden jubilee of the episcopacy of our venerable father, I mentioned that, as he was present, I dared not to enter the sanctuary gate of his inner life. I spoke then of the things which you knew. To-day I presume to do what I then declined. The inner life of a man is his real life—the life of motive, of hope, of sorrow, the life that the world does not see. We should not have known the great Lacordaire if some one had not lifted the veil and let us look into his inner life. And, to understand the inner life of a man, we have to consider two elements—the natural and the supernatural. And the natural, though it cannot rise to the supreme heights of the supernatural, is of importance in

judging the character of a man in his external actions, because the supernatural, though so glorious, is variable, according to our correspondence with the grace of God. It increases or decreases in accordance with that correspondence, and therefore cannot always be counted upon in individual souls. The natural basis of character, on the other hand, changes but little. Archbishop Kenrick was a rare man, of the strongest individuality, of a courage that was absolutely incapable of fear. With all that, he was tender as woman, affectionate to those to whom he revealed his heart. Natures like his are often unknown. These lofty natures are so superior to the generality of men that they live alone—they are in solitude. They love solitude. They can see farther and deeper than others, and therefore they often remain alone. May I, without disrespect, compare them to our divine Lord's nature, as He looked down upon the city of Jerusalem on Palm Sunday? The people, superficial and rejoicing, cried out, 'Hosanna! Hosanna to the son of David.' They seemed to awake from their sleep, and the city seemed to hear the voice of the prophet calling on it to arise. Palm branches were waved, and the people, looking into the face of the Son of Man, saw in it supreme sorrow. The tears are on his cheeks as He looks down upon the city. Deep natures are often misunderstood. Their possessors are solitary men. Yet they are the men who influence the world. They are the men who, like Cardinal Newman, will continue to influence the world long, long after they are dead. They are the world's silent great men. To some the dead Archbishop may have seemed reserved, and proud and cold. He was not proud. He had the highest realizing sense of the dignity of a Bishop, but not the sense that produced pride in his heart. God had elevated him to that position, and he seemed to feel it always. A keen

observer of human nature once said of him: 'I believe Archbishop Kenrick would polish one's shoes if it were necessary, as a man, but as a Bishop he seems exalted as an angel, with a sense of the dignity which God had bestowed upon him.' He was not cold. For a year after he had heard of the death of his brother, whom he so tenderly loved, the Archbishop of Baltimore, he could not mention his name or hear his name mentioned without emotion. Such natures love a few. Other natures are like the waters of a great river that spreads itself over the prairies. They are shallow. But these exceptional natures are like a river—deep and silent. They love and they love with their whole souls. The calumniators of the Church of God who say that it is her mission to steel the heart, to make it cold and reserved, know little of the secret of sanctity. What heart was holier than that of St. Bernard? Yet his allusion to his dead brother, brother according to the flesh, and brother in religion, is full of tenderness, because it came from a pure heart, from a nature which was purified, elevated, intensified by the love of God.

"Such is a glimpse of the natural character of the dead Archbishop. This foundation Almighty God adopted, and on it he built an edifice of supernatural virtue. What most distinguished him was a perpetual union with God. It is that union which the sacraments are instituted to effect and perpetuate. All the prayers that we say, all the sacrifices that we make, are to effect this union, to bring the human soul near to its God. From the time he said his Mass, where he was united with Jesus Christ in the Adorable Sacrament, till the time he slept at night, that heart of his seemed perpetually bounding upwards to God. Between the religious exercises proper, this union was maintained by pious ejaculations, which one near him could over-

hear. When I was traveling with him in Europe he would forget that I was present—would forget himself in the remembrance of God. He possessed the love of Christ, that love which 'waters cannot quench, and which floods cannot drown,' that love strong as death and jealous as hell, the predominant passion of the saints, the love that nerved the martyrs, that made heroes of young girls in the early days of the Church, the love that sanctifies the labors of the missionary, the life of the inner life, the very source and power and strength and sacrifice and beauty and tenderness of all that was glorious in the supernatural life. It was not seen openly, but it was deep in his soul. When he spoke of the interests of the future of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, you could feel the words burning. They went from the furnace into the heart. Men have love; God is love. And out from the furnace the fire darts into human hearts which are prepared to receive it. And from that union, from that intense, passionate and continued love for Jesus Christ, there sprung his love for his fellow-men. The institutions that he founded are the evidences of his love for his fellow-beings. His natural tenderness was united with his love for Jesus Christ, and was thus elevated above that of all mere human philanthropy. It was the union of two great loves, two great powers—the natural love of Jesus Christ and the love of his kind for the sake of Jesus Christ. An incident occurred when he was still a student at Maynooth College. To some it may seem trivial, but to me it is a great character fact. Some young aspirants to the priesthood arrived at the college. It so happened that for one of the strangers there was no bed in the establishment. The young Dublin student, Mr. Kenrick, said to the stranger, 'Take my bed,' and in order to secure his acceptance of it he added, 'I will find some other place.' On waking in the morn-

ing the stranger was embarrassed and edified to find that his hospitable friend was lying on the floor of his room without any mattress or covering save that of his student cloak. I can imagine some of you whisper to yourselves, 'How like him.' And the same love for his kind, and the same charity continued till his death; and, I trust, may continue, and that he may pray, as did Onias, who was High Priest, and Jeremias, who had been a prophet, for the people whom he has left behind. And springing, also, naturally from that love of God, arose his love for the Church, the spouse of Jesus Christ. That was an intense love. And if he opposed the declaration of Papal infallibility it was from no want of allegiance or of loyalty to the Church—it was from his love of the Church. Because, though mistaken in it, he, like Cardinal Newman, thought that the declaration at that time might impede conversions in England and in the United States and elsewhere. But for the Church itself he entertained the deepest affection. In the profession of his faith in St. John's Church, in this city, he gave the strongest proof of his loyalty. How? Because he accepted something simply because it was the teaching of the Church. You remember that when our Lord declared the mystery of the presence of His body and blood in the Holy Eucharist some, not strangers, not Scribes, not Pharisees, but some of His own disciples, left Him. They said, 'It is a hard thing; who can believe Him?' Our Divine Lord saw them passing away, and then, turning to the twelve, to those who should be most loyal, He said, 'Will you also leave Me?' Then Peter, thinking it perhaps still a little hard, made answer and said: 'To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.' And so, when the Bishop who loves the Church hesitates, the Church says, 'Will you, too, leave me; you, the priest, the Bishop, who are the source of

so many benedictions and the medium of faith to so many, will you leave me because this argument did not satisfy your intellect entirely?' The priest says: 'To whom shall I go if I leave thee? Thou hast the words of eternal life; thou art the pillar and the ground of truth.' If a man holds a balance in his hands, and into one scale puts the arguments against a doctrine and in the other the arguments for it, and, if the arguments against it become heavier, he says, 'I cannot accept those arguments which are outweighed,' then there cometh a new argument into the light scale, from the Church of God, the pillar and the ground of truth, and the man accepts the arguments because of the Church's authority. Here is an act of faith. The dead Archbishop could have had no human motive for his submission to the authority of Rome. And, on the other hand, he could have had no human motive for his opposition to the definition to which I have referred. On the contrary, all the human motives were the other way. When the question was being discussed some utilitarian man came to him and said: 'You have sent three names before the Propaganda to be submitted to the Pope, that one of them might be selected as your Coadjutor to aid you in the discharge of your duties in your old age. The authorities will fear that these men sympathize with you, and that they may be, if not heterodox, at least cold in their allegiance toward the Holy See, if you persevere in your arguments. You are, therefore, injuring yourself and you are injuring your friends in the position you are taking.' How little they knew him. He would have sacrificed himself and every friend upon earth to what he believed were the interests of God and the Church of the living God. His was the courage and his the faith of Abraham. He was always loyal to truth and loyal to truth from a supernatural motive.

"And now, dear brethren, there remains but a lesson and a prayer. I have described his natural and supernatural character. It was known to this community, both Catholic and non-Catholic. His was a character much needed in this, our day. We want a man such as he, by whom popular lies were not received and unpopular truths not rejected. We want the example of a man brave enough to express the truth. The lesson which I wish to impart is the one which he would teach from his bier. Many years ago a scene was presented in France that bears some resemblance to the scene in this Cathedral. The royal chapel was hung in mourning, the royal throne was vacant. And the preacher of the court, who had often addressed both King and courtiers, was expected to deliver a eulogy of him who was called great. And, looking at the empty throne, and looking at the congregation in mourning, and looking at the insignia of royalty around the coffin, and then looking upon the face of the dead King, he exclaimed in accents that thrilled the entire congregation, simply these words, 'God alone is great.'

"And, to-day, around the bier of a better man, in some respects a greater one, greater at least with the greatness of goodness, which is the highest of all greatness, standing before this coffin, in the presence of the venerable dead, I also cry out, 'God alone is great.' Men pass away. 'The silver cord is broken, the golden fillet has shrunk back, the pitcher is crushed at the fountain and the wheels broken at the cistern.' Life, like the bird upon the wing, like the ship upon the waters—life passeth away. God alone is great; God alone is permanent. What are we, from the Pope to the acolyte? We are mortals, and we pass away. But the Church of God remains, and God's work has to be done. And to your young Archbishop, full of energy, full of the spirit of

God, you have to offer your continued allegiance, not for the sake of him only, but for the sake of him who lies in that coffin. God alone is great; we shall pass away, but God's Church shall remain. And now let us pray for the soul of the departed Archbishop. You have seen him these years, united with God, loving God, sanctifying, organizing, doing good, and you may say, 'Will God not have received him the moment his spirit had passed away?' We know not. Of those to whom much has been given much shall be required. Thus we should pray for the dead, even as we pray for the Sovereign Pontiffs. David, when he was forgiven his sins, had reason to cry out for further forgiveness. 'Wash me, O Lord, from my iniquities,' he cried; 'cleanse me from my sins; deliver me, O God, from blood; create a clean heart within me; cast me not away from thy face forever.' And now let your hearts unite with my heart, and with my voice let us pray: Oh, eternal and most sacred God, the Father, the Father omnipotent, look down upon the face of our dead father, who represented Thee to us, and then look upon the face of Thy Christ, and upon His wounds, and by these wounds, by the love that you bear to Him, forgive the weaknesses of Thy servant and blot out the temporal debt that he may have to pay. Oh, receive him among those sainted Bishops of the past; receive him, oh, God, to-day; receive him, that there he may pray for us who have to tarry for a little while in this vale of tears, that we with him may praise Thee, Eternal God, forevermore. Amen."

This is a land of fleeting memories, because its present condition is one of incessant change and fluctuation. The movement of its peoples from place to place has an erosive effect upon its social system, so that men and the ideas of which they were at one time the living embodiment are speedily forgotten or displaced by a new race

and a new order of thought. We have not as yet reached the stage of stability, nor even approximated it. In a little time the name and fame of the wisest, the noblest and the most unselfish are forgotten or totally unknown, where the streets that have been trod by one wave of immigration reëcho the tread of a new influx. Even in the priesthood the old order is being constantly displaced by the new. This is not the fault of the people, but the inevitable result of a condition of society unparalleled since the break-up of the Roman Empire, when the European continent was the theatre of a similar medley of races passing to and fro across the broad stage and painfully rough-hewing a new social fabric from the mighty ruins of the old. Only a little more than a decade has flown since the second of the Kenricks was borne to the tomb, and within that period the face of things has undergone a mighty change, both in the visible and the immaterial world. New cities are springing up; new faces throng the streets; new lines of thought have been opened up as well as new lines of railway. The Church, while holding unalterably to her ancient doctrine and formulæ, adapts her methods to meet the new requirements, even as our military strategists make their dispositions for war concurrently with the new science of destruction. The busy world may forget its benefactors, as it plunges on in its career of excitement and pre-occupation in pursuit of transitory gain, but the Church, which never loses her profound calm and mirrored serenity, allows no pre-occupation to dull her memory of the great minds which planned and mapped out her majestic outlines on this continent, and by whose incessant toil and self-devotion the foundations thus laid were built on, day by day, and year by year, until they sent their cross-crowned salutations high into the heavens from a thousand spires. But the two Ken-

ricks did more. They both left monuments behind them not less noteworthy. In the magnificent seminaries they planned and reared, their name is destined to be perpetuated for long—perhaps, it might be said, forever.

St. Charles Borromeo's Seminary in Philadelphia has been already spoken of. The Kenrick Seminary in St. Louis, called after Peter Richard Kenrick, is an institution not less remarkable in its growth and the difficulties under which its beginnings were attempted.

Our sense of justice is gratified in the fact that this school of priests is to be forever associated with the memory of the Archbishop who did most to make it an institution adequate to its exalted purpose. Still it would not be just to his distinguished predecessors to overlook the share they had in giving it life and utility. The institution bears the name of the Kenrick Seminary, but in earlier times it bore a different appellation. We find its progress thus briefly sketched in the Calendar for the year 1902-3:

"It is well known that the history of the Theological Seminary at St. Louis goes back to the year 1818, when the Rev. Joseph Rosati, C. M., and his Vincentian confreres founded St. Mary's Seminary at the Barrens.

"In the year 1816 Bishop Dubourg, of New Orleans, went to Europe to secure missionaries for the vast diocese of Louisiana, to which he had just been appointed. But his aims reached farther than the immediate needs of the people of the Louisiana territory. He hoped to find in Europe a body of priests who would undertake to found and conduct a seminary where the future clergy of the West could be prepared for the important and difficult work of evangelizing the immense region between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. The Bishop succeeded better than he thought he would. At Rome he secured a colony of Vincentian

Fathers, whose superior was the Very Rev. Felix DeAndreis, C. M. They reached St. Louis in the spring of 1818 and in the fall of the same year St. Mary's Seminary was opened. St. Mary's is therefore the oldest institution for higher education west of the Mississippi to-day. The Rev. Joseph Rosati was the first superior of St. Mary's Seminary. Father DeAndreis was appointed vicar general of the diocese of Louisiana, and he died in St. Louis, in the fame of sanctity, in October, 1820. The process of his canonization is now pending before the Congregation of Rites in Rome.

"Some years after its foundation St. Mary's Seminary was devoted exclusively to the students of the Congregation of the Mission, and the Seminary of the diocese was removed to St. Louis, whence, after a few years, it was again removed in 1859 to Cape Girardeau, where it remained until 1893. In September of this latter year it was transferred to St. Louis and opened under the name of the Kenrick Seminary, in the present buildings and location, which were given by the late Archbishop Kenrick to the Vincentian Fathers for seminary purposes.

"During the past ten years one hundred and fifty-four students, representing twenty-five dioceses, have been ordained priests from the Seminary."

Well known as are proofs of unfaltering resolution as a trait of the Archbishop's character, there were some illustrations of it which did not come to light until long after the storm of war had passed, and even then became known only to a few. One of the most remarkable cases was that in which the formidable Frank Blair was checkmated in his design to allure men into joining the Irish Brigade by procuring the services of the revered Father De Smet as chaplain to the troops. Blair rightly estimated that the name of the saintly Jesuit would be

sufficient to attract many young Irishmen to the service, and he moved quietly among his friends in the War Department to have his object effected. The matter came to the Archbishop's ears, and he at once interposed his authority to frustrate it. Under no circumstances would he allow any one to interfere with his spiritual responsibility. Blair was at the time a very powerful personality, and to cross him in his designs was no light undertaking, for men's passions were then at high tide, and the least indication of a sentiment that might be construed as inimical to the Northern cause would be sufficient to arouse a feeling that might be fatal to its object. But the Archbishop was as adamant in his resolution, and Mr. Blair found his design foiled. In after years he spoke of it, and told a friend in St. Louis that there was not another man in all Missouri who would have dared to cross him in such a matter, or who would have been suffered to escape the consequences of such action, if he did dare. He ever afterwards expressed the greatest respect for the Archbishop.

Amongst all ancient proverbs and axioms there is none that is more generally realized and verified in actual experience than that which says "the boy is the father of the man." In the case of the brothers Kenrick this old aphorism was most strikingly borne out in their adolescence and in their manhood. Their piety as children was truly remarkable. This piety was not confined to sentiment or speech or thought; it took the shape of action whenever occasion arose. One instance in particular, in Peter Richard's life, throws a vivid light on this side of his character. (It is given to the writer by His Grace Archbishop Ryan.) During his course

in Maynooth College an incident occurred which showed his remarkable kindness and disinterestedness. A larger number of candidates had come to the college for examination than could be accommodated for the night, and one of them, a perfect stranger to young Mr. Kenrick, asked him for a place to rest for the night. He gave him his own bed, assuring him that he would find accommodation somewhere else. When the stranger woke the next morning he discovered his benefactor lying on the bare floor with his cloak around him.

This saintlike renunciation and kindliness characterized the man all through his long life, as it did the boy. Still there was about him that which prevented this kindness being mistaken by anybody as an invitation to familiarity. He would not intimate to a visitor, however tiresome his talk had become, that it was time to go, but there was a certain intonation in the voice, or a delay in making a reply, or an absentness of air that told the dullest that his presence was no longer desirable. Although his general mood was grave and serious, not to say austere, he could relax and enjoy himself, and set others in a roar of laughter by the quiet way in which he told some singularly droll story or perpetrated some sly irony of his own, at the expense of one of the listeners mayhaps. Playful badinage often took place between the brothers, mostly in regard to their respective literary achievements.

There was one feature in which the Archbishop of St. Louis differed from most other great prelates of his day and this. He shrank always from public functions other than those of his sacred office. He could not be induced to take any part in public meetings, political or otherwise. As for politics, he took absolutely no part in them. For a long time it was almost impossible, indeed, for any Bishop or priest to do so, because of

the inflammable state of the public mind in many parts of the Union. The same feeling of indifference was manifested with regard to his portrait. He could not, until late in life, be persuaded to have it painted. He used to remark, when importuned on this point, that he and his brother were so much alike that the one picture would do for both. In this he was much mistaken; there is a world of difference between the two faces.

An inveterate reader was Peter Richard Kenrick. A great linguist, he was fond of picking up rare books in various languages. He did not confine himself altogether to sacred writings, but was well read in the profane literature of the past and the modern schools. He entertained a great respect for Cardinal Newman as a thinker and writer. Indeed there was much in common between these two minds, in methods of ratiocination and subtle shades of thought on profound ethical questions. His great range of languages—Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Italian and still others—enabled him to cultivate this art of reasoning to a very fine point indeed. Besides letters, he took a deep interest in the study of geology, as his remarkable book on "Sacred Cosmogony" attests.

As a preacher Archbishop Peter Richard ranked among the best in pulpit oratory. His command of language was immense, his selection choice and his reasoning singularly pellucid and convincing. He possessed a voice of singular sweetness and fine pitch, and he had all through life the faintest suggestion of the charming brogue of Ireland. His reasoning was so clear and captivating that non-Catholics who were fond of going to hear him preach were known to give up the luxury, for the strange reason that they feared he might ultimately convert them!

Addison, in the *Spectator*, discoursing on the advance

of the soul toward perfection, makes the beautiful observation that "it must be a prospect pleasing to God Himself to see His creation ever beautifying in His eyes, and drawing nearer to Him by greater degrees of resemblance." Taking this view as just, what a happiness did Peter Richard Kenrick acquire as a reward for a long life nobly spent as his days drew near to their inevitable close. Prayer and holy meditation marked each succeeding morrow, until his spirit became rapt and absorbed in the advancing future.

The *Cabinet* was the subject of some bright pleasantry by the brother of its editor. Replying to an imaginary query from a child, "What is a Cabinet?" he gave the answer: "A Cabinet is a museum of curiosities, my dear." Peter Richard was slightly more pungent than his brother. He was conversing with Bishop Spalding, of Louisville, one day, when the question was sprung on him, "Archbishop, did you ever read my life of Bishop Flaget?" "No," he replied gravely; "I never read any of those light works." Bishop Spalding's American wit did not allow him to be thus ambuscaded with impunity; so he retorted: "Well, whenever I have an attack of insomnia I read Kenrick on Anglican Ordinations."

While the Archbishop was engaged in the financial business, in his early days in St. Louis, somebody asked him about what he had done in a literary way. "My brother," he said, "once wrote to me saying I ought to write something—a book, he said. I answered him that I would rather be a bookkeeper than a book writer." No doubt that capacity was the better of the two for his diocese's interests just then.

Father Walsh's memoir is a little in error when it touches on the relations between the brothers. There had not been much communication between them, the author says, and even their written correspondence, he

infers, was not great. As all that correspondence has been examined by the present writer, it can be said that such is not by any means the case. The brothers were in the closest possible touch constantly, and their letters are full of the most fraternal sympathy. The news of the death of his brother came to the Archbishop of St. Louis in a singular way, which is described by Father Walsh:

The dispatch did not reach its destination until after the hour when the Archbishop, as was his wont, had gone out to spend the night at the Clay farm near Calvary Cemetery. No one at the Archbishop's city residence knew what the dispatch contained, and the consequence was that the Archbishop knew nothing of his brother's death until he returned from the country next morning. The sad news was broken to him in this wise: He had gone to St. John's Church for the purpose of saying the eight o'clock Mass. Rev. Patrick T. Ring, who was then acting pastor of St. John's Church, had seen in a morning paper what was contained in the dispatch of the previous day, but not wishing to disturb the Archbishop before his Mass by informing him of it, he merely asked, "Archbishop, can you say Mass for my intention?" "Yes," said the Archbishop, "I can." When the Archbishop had finished his Mass and returned to the sacristy, "Archbishop," said Father Ring once more, "the Mass you said was for your brother, the Archbishop of Baltimore. The papers bring the news of his death." "Oh! poor man," said the Archbishop, and then went back into the sanctuary to make his thanksgiving and pray for the soul of the deceased. Those who went to condole with the Archbishop in his great loss were surprised at the deep sense of grief that he manifested. But why should they have been surprised, seeing that he had lost the companion of his youth, the counsellor of his manhood,

the brother to whom he was attached by so many endearing ties? Not only in private but in public did the Archbishop manifest his grief, breaking down completely when at the Mass of Requiem he began to read the prayers of absolution. Circumstances were such as to prevent him from attending the funeral, but he went to the Month's Mind, at which an eloquent sermon was preached by Rev. Francis E. Boyle, of Washington.

There is neither moral for the homilist nor picture for the dramatist to be drawn from the story of the life and death of the brothers Kenrick. They do not stand out as examples of anything to be avoided, either in aim or method of realization. If they made, in the minds of others, mistakes, in dealing with the successive weighty problems which demanded solution, they ever acted for the highest and good, according to their judgment. They were not spectacular personalities, but, like the Divine model whom they followed, they sought to impress the world by beautiful example, in humility and self-repression. Endowed with intellectual gifts beyond the common, even in a sphere where intellectual endowment is the first condition for the neophyte, they made no parade of their heritage, but only resorted to their ample armory whenever the shafts of relentless enmity threatened the vital parts of the Church on this continent. Coming from the city of St. Laurence O'Toole, they renewed the fame in sanctity, learning and courage of that splendid ornament of the Celtic Church, and shed an imperishable glory on the City of the Pale.

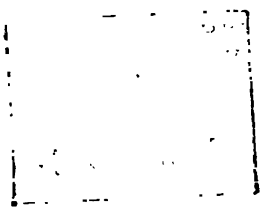
APPENDIX.

Archbishop Kenrick on Anglican Ordinations.

Although many tracts on the validity of Anglican orders had been published ere his time, the first comprehensive treatise on the subject in the United States came from the pen of the late Archbishop Kenrick. It differed from preceding ones in the fact that while most of those dealt with particular branches or aspects of the theme, his surveyed it as a whole, as it presented itself in a bird's-eye historical view. The decision of the late Pope Leo XIII. dealt with the matter chiefly from the doctrinal point of the sacramental validity. Archbishop Kenrick rendered great service by analyzing the historical grounds upon which the English Church based its claim, as well as by exposing the dual position assumed by antagonists of the Catholic Church within the Anglican pale—one claiming to be of lawful derivation in the matter of orders; the other that orders were of no account. As his great and painstaking work is now out of print, for the general run of readers it is useful to reproduce some of its leading arguments.

"Whether the Anglican orders be valid or not does not involve any dogma or principle of Catholic faith. The Church recognizes the orders of the Greek and other schismatic churches, which have been, for ages, separated from her communion; nor would she hesitate to admit those of the Anglican Church were their validity sustained by the facts of the case. It would, therefore, be an erroneous impression to suppose that Catholics have any possible inducement to deny the validity of the Anglican ordinations. So far from this

REV. RICHARD KENRICK, P. P.,
Uncle of the Archbishops.



being the case, it has been regarded by some as a great misfortune that the succession of the ministry was not kept up in England at the time of the miscalled Reformation in that country. Speaking of the attempt made by a French ecclesiastic, Courayer, to defend the ordinations of the English Church, Chardon says: 'It would have been desirable that he (Courayer) had cleared up all doubt on that subject, since there would then be one obstacle less to a reunion, of which we should never despair; and this would attach still more closely to the Catholic Church that illustrious nation from which so many learned and holy men have sprung, and which, even nowadays, is so famous for the number of virtuous and scientific men whom it produces; who are distinguished from all the other Calvinists by their regard for the episcopal hierarchy, whose rights and prerogatives they zealously maintain.' It is not, then, from any principle she holds, or any apparent advantage the denial might be supposed to afford her, that the Catholic Church has constantly rejected the ordinations of the Anglican Church as invalid, but merely because the facts of the case do not warrant her in coming to any other conclusion. Whether these facts are such as I have here represented them or not, the reader, who will accompany me in the following examination, will be enabled to decide.

"It is here necessary to point out the distinction between a *valid* and a *lawful* ordination. The one is an act to which nothing is wanting that is necessary to give it effect; whereas, the other is one not only complete in itself, but conformable to the laws that have been made to direct and govern the power that produced it. Thus, for example, a clergyman who has been suspended from the exercise of his ministry may, if he be so regardless of his duty, continue to officiate, and his official acts

would, in most instances, be *valid*. They would not, indeed, be *lawful* acts, but, on the contrary, a sacrilegious abuse of the powers of the ministry. Hence, were a Catholic Bishop to apostatize from the faith and confer the order of priesthood on one of his partisans in error, his apostasy or heresy would not invalidate the act, although it would render it plainly *unlawful*. And hence it is that the Catholic regards all ordinations that are made in the sects separated from her communion as *unlawful;* but she only considers those *invalid* in which either the ordaining prelate was not himself consecrated, or in which he had no serious intention of performing a sacred rite.

"The foregoing explanations have been thought necessary in order to show more clearly to the general reader that a participation of the Apostolic ministry, by means of valid ordination, does not suffice for the lawful exercise of its functions: and hence that those who infer that the Anglican Church enjoys an apostolical succession, because, in their opinion, she has an apostolic ministry, overlook one of the most obvious and most universally admitted principles of church government, and one which they themselves recognize. When a clergyman of the Church of England is silenced by his Bishop, no orthodox churchman attaches any importance to his ministrations. Why? Because he has ceased to derive the *right* of ministering from the source in which ecclesiastical authority is presumed to dwell. Suppose, now, that there is not question of an individual, but of a body of clergymen—of a Bishop, or of many Bishops, who revolt against the Church of which they were ordained ministers; and are, therefore, deprived by the proper authority of the *right* to continue to act as ministers of such Church, surely no one will say that there is a shadow of difference in principle between this case and that of

an individual clergyman silenced for errors or misconduct? Whatever ministerial acts such a body of men perform are *unlawful*, and, therefore, in opposition to the authority from which they originally derived the right to minister. Those who follow them in their revolt from the Church may say, as long as they please, that these men succeed those who had peacefully finished their course and kept the faith which they have abandoned; but every unprejudiced observer will perceive that where there is no identity of religious principle, no uniformity of faith, there cannot be anything like apostolical succession, which consists in the continued transmission of the same sacred deposit of doctrine from one pastor to his successor, and not in the mere fact that one Bishop succeeds another in the same see, without any regard to the doctrines professed by each. Thus, to illustrate this position by the case at present in question, it is not denied that Cardinal Pole was followed in the see of Canterbury by Matthew Parker; but it is equally undeniable that Pole would have considered Parker a heretic, and that Parker regarded Pole as an idolater. To suppose, then, that they were both links of the same chain—both equally capable of transmitting the invaluable blessings of apostolical succession—is to confound all notions and contradict the most universally received maxims. As well might Cromwell be considered one of the Stuart Kings of England, or Napoleon Bonaparte one of the Bourbon race, as Matthew Parker—even if validly ordained—be regarded as a link added to the chain of Catholic Archbishops of Canterbury, reaching down from St. Augustine to Cardinal Pole, in whom that illustrious series of Pontiffs finally ceased.

"And all this, I must again remind the reader, is to be understood, even in the supposition that the orders of the English Church are valid and its clergy regularly

ordained; so that it is not necessary for Catholics to disprove the Anglican orders in order to defeat the claim to apostolic succession, so pompously put forward, especially in these times, by men who seem to have grown up amidst the evidences of their defective title, and yet to have learned no fact from history, no wisdom from experience, no counsel from the suggestions of cool and unbiased reason.

"But although it be not necessary for Catholics to disprove the validity of the Anglican ordinations, in order to defeat the claim to apostolical succession put forward by the clergy of that Church, it is obvious that one of the simplest means of defeating that claim is to show, by a reference to facts, that the very foundation on which it is raised is itself either positively disproved, or, at least, very uncertain, as must be evident to every one acquainted with the circumstances of the case and not influenced by any other motive than a love of truth. The Catholic can, then, defeat the Anglican's claim to apostolic succession without disproving the orders of the English Church; but the advocates of this latter cannot advance a single argument in support of the supposed succession of their Bishops without first proving the validity of their ordination.

"From what has been hitherto said, it appears that the validity of the Anglican ordinations and the apostolical succession of the Bishops of the Church of England are distinct questions, not necessarily connected with one another; at least, that the apostolic succession of pastors is not a necessary consequence of their being validly ordained. And hence it is apparent that the exceptions taken to the Anglican ordinations do not necessarily follow either from Catholic principles or from a desire to set aside the claim to apostolical succession on the part of the English Bishops. Whether they are the quibbles

of captious sophists, or the serious doubts and well grounded objections of conscientious men, I shall leave to the reader to determine.

"In the sixteenth century, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Elizabeth, the Church of England underwent a change, by which it was delivered from the 'damnable idolatry' and superstition, in which, according to the book of Homilies, all ranks and conditions of Christendom had lain buried 'for eight hundred years and more.' It does not, of course, enter into the plan of this inquiry to examine the merits or wisdom of the change, of which men will judge according to their different religious convictions. But I must be pardoned for briefly noticing one fashionable theory on this subject, which is, at the same time, so monstrously absurd and so palpably inconsistent with the facts of the case, that a more convincing proof of the general ignorance regarding the causes and stages of the English Reformation among those who believe it could not easily be adduced. According to this theory, it was not the State that reformed the Church of England, but this change was brought about by the Church itself. So far, however, from this being the case, that in the first year of Elizabeth's reign the Convocation of the English clergy made a profession of faith quite conformable to the teaching of the Catholic Church, and, of course, quite in opposition to the doctrines and principles of the Reformation. There were then but fourteen Bishops in England, and they all remained faithful to Catholic principles; they unanimously proscribed the new errors. Of these thirteen were deprived of their sees for refusing to take the oath of supremacy; there was but one recreant of the episcopal body, who took the oath and thus preserved his see, but who yet remained steadfast in the Catholic faith. The Church of England did *not*, then, reform itself; it was

crushed and almost annihilated by the civil power; and in its place was established a new church, essentially different from that which had been swept away.

"The great parent of the so-called Reformation, Martin Luther, openly taught that the ministers of religion differed in nothing from the laity but by their *election* to the office of teacher. According to him, every Christian is a priest. His words are: 'Let every Christian, therefore, acknowledge that we are all equally priests; that is, that we have the same power in the Word and in every sacrament; but that it is not lawful for each one to use that power unless *elected* by the community or *called* by the RULER.' According to this theory, there would be no necessity for ordination, as each member of the Church is supposed to be invested with equal powers 'in the word and in every sacrament' by baptism; and *election* is only required to prevent the confusion which would arise from each individual exercising the power he possessed. It is not necessary to refer to the sentiments of the other continental reformers on this subject, it being sufficiently notorious that they denied the efficacy of ordination.

"To confine myself, then, to the English Reformers. We learn from a public document in Burnet what were the sentiments of Archbishop Cranmer on this important subject. The record, 21, in the Appendix to Burnet's 'History of the Reformation' is entitled 'The Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines of some Questions Concerning the Sacraments.' One of these questions, the ninth, is thus proposed: 'Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by authority given them by God?' In reply to this the Archbishop of Canterbury, that is, Cranmer, said: 'All Christian princes have committed unto them immediately

of God the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word for the cure of souls as concerning the administration of things political and of civil governance.' In answer to the tenth question: 'Whether Bishops were before priests, or priests before Bishops; and if so, did not the priests make the Bishop?' he replied: 'that the Bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's Religion.' To the eleventh question he answered: 'A Bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also; and that by the authority of God.' He says that laymen may make priests by election; and in answer to the twelfth question he replies: 'In the New Testament he that is appointed to be a Bishop or a priest *needeth no consecration* by the Scripture; for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.'

"Besides these answers, we have the sentiments of Cranmer on this subject thus given in the words of Burnet's abridger. 'Cranmer had at this time some particular opinions concerning ecclesiastical offices; that they were delivered from the King as other civil offices were, and that ordination was not indispensably necessary, and was only a ceremony that might be used or laid aside; but that the authority was delivered to churchmen only by the King's commission.' Nor was this royal supremacy, which, as we learn from the same writer, the clergy placed 'in some extraordinary grace conferred on the King in his coronation,' suffered to lie dormant. In common with all the other time-serving Bishops of that reign—with, however, the glorious exception of Fisher of Rochester, who suffered death rather than acknowledge the royal supremacy—Cranmer gave a practical proof of his principles by throwing up his commission and consenting to receive jurisdiction from

the lustful and sanguinary tyrant, Henry VIII. In the address to Henry on this occasion the Bishops state 'that all jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical, flowed from the King, and that they exercised it only at the King's courtesy; and as they had it of his bounty, so they would be ready to deliver it up when he should be pleased to call for it.' Accordingly, the King did empower them, in HIS STEAD, to give institution and to do all the other parts of the episcopal function, which was to last during his pleasure; so that, as Burnet remarks, they were the King's Bishops.

"Cromwell, a layman, whom Henry had appointed his Vicar General, took his seat in the convocation of the clergy as head over them; at his coming into the house of convocation all the Bishops paid him honor—and he sat in the highest place; he sent forth *injunctions* to all Bishops and curates throughout the realm, *charging* them to execute various duties of their calling.

"On the accession of Edward, Cranmer took out a new commission to exercise his episcopal functions, in order to express more clearly his favorite principle that all authority—ecclesiastical no less than civil—flowed from the throne. Everything was done to confirm this error. The Bishops were made by the King's letters patent, and not, as before, by the election of the Deans and Chapters; all processes and writings should be made in the King's name, only with the Bishop's attestation appended to it, and they were sealed with no other seal than that of the King. 'The intent of the contrivers of this act,' says Dr. Heylin, 'was by degrees to weaken the episcopal order by forcing them from their stronghold of divine institution and making them no other than the King's ministers only, his ecclesiastical sheriffs, to execute his will and dispense his mandates.' Such was the practical effect of this principle that the Bishops

were rendered incapable of conferring orders, unless they had previously been empowered by a special license; the tenor whereof was in these words: 'The King to such a Bishop, greeting. Whereas, all and all manner of jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, flows from the King, as from the supreme head of all the body, etc. We, therefore, give and grant to thee full power and license to continue during our good pleasure for holding ordination within thy diocese of N., and for promoting fit persons into holy orders, even to that of the priesthood.'

"The loose notions, or rather positive errors, of Cranmer and Barlow on the subject of episcopal consecration, although already sufficiently well established, are thus fully acknowledged by Courayer. 'It evidently appears that Cranmer and Barlow, two of the prelates appointed to reform the public liturgy and form of ordination, were notoriously erroneous in the matter of orders. To be convinced of this, we need go no farther than examine the questions concerning the sacraments, which were proposed to several prelates and some divines, whose opinions were required. In their answers to several questions proposed relating to the number of the sacraments, ordination is always excluded; excepting in their answer to the fourth question, where they extend the word sacrament to many things which are only figures or plainly ceremonies. In the answer to the seventh question, Cranmer and Barlow exclude ordination particularly from the number of the sacraments, as carrying no virtual efficacy with it. In a word, pure presbyterianism without disguise discovers itself in all the answers; and it is but too apparent that the chief aim of these divines and prelates was to extinguish episcopacy.'

"Again: 'In 1536, among many errors which he (Barlow) was accused of spreading, he was charged with

having maintained this proposition: "That if the King's Grace, being supreme head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate, and elect any layman (being learned) to be a Bishop; that he so chosen (without mention made of any orders) should be as good a Bishop, as he is, or the best in England." The most obstinate Presbyterian never carried the no-necessity of ordination further.'

"This might appear a suitable place for exposing a most dishonest artifice, by which Courayer endeavors to show that the errors of Cranmer and Barlow had no influence in changing the form of the ordination under Edward VI., were it not that the subject will more appropriately present itself in a future chapter, which will treat of that form. I have entered somewhat largely into these details; because they best show what were the opinions of the first framers of the English Church regarding the necessity of consecration; and it is by these we are to be influenced in judging of their conduct, on the present occasion, rather than by whatever principles their successors may have found it convenient to adopt, or which the unanimous testimony of Christian antiquity may have caused them subsequently to acknowledge.

"In the 24th of the 42 articles agreed upon in the convocation of 1552, and published by the authority of Edward VI., it is expressly stated 'that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or administering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same; and those we judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.' This article is the 23d of those adopted in 1562, in the reign

of Queen Elizabeth, and known as the 39 articles of religion. The meaning of the article above quoted is evidently presbyterian; and Burnet, in expounding it, says that should a company of Christians by common consent decree some of their own members to minister to them in holy things, this is not condemned nor annulled by the article, for 'we are sure,' says he, 'that not only those who penned the articles, but the body of this Church, *for above half an age after*, did, notwithstanding these irregularities, acknowledge the foreign churches so constituted to be true churches as to all the essentials of a church.' Indeed, it is only necessary to read the whole of his exposition of the 23d article to be convinced how little importance was attached, even in his days, to the regular transmission of orders. The lawful authority, which is to call to the ministry, is, according to him, the body of the pastors assembled, and acting agreeably to the laws of the State, without at all insisting on the necessity for these pastors themselves to have had anything like regular ordination. Thus he says: 'The article does not resolve this (lawful authority) into any particular constitution, but leaves the matter open and at large, for such accidents as *had happened*, and such as might still happen. They who drew it had the state of the several churches before their eyes that had been differently reformed; and although their own had been less forced to go out of the beaten path than any other, *yet they knew that all things among themselves had not gone according to those rules that ought to be sacred in regular times.* Necessity has no law, and is a law in itself.' And that such was the doctrine of the Church of England, for a long period subsequent to its birth, he thus expressly states, making a supposition which had been already verified in England: 'If it should happen that princes or States should take up such

a jealousy of their own authority, and should apprehend that the suffering their subjects to go elsewhere for regular ordination, might bring them under some dependence on those that had ordained them. And if upon other political reasons, they had just cause of being jealous of that, and should thereupon hinder any such thing; in that case neither our Reformers nor their successors, *for near eighty years after those articles were published*, did ever question the constitution of such churches.'

"But we have still further evidence of the loose notions regarding the necessity of orders that prevailed among the early English Reformers, and which were acted upon not only during the latter years of Henry VIII. and during the whole reign of Edward VI., but were adopted by the Bishops of Elizabeth's time. These, for the most part, had been engaged in the religious changes made by both the preceding monarchs; and the identity of belief on this point, between the convocations of 1548 and 1562, is shown by the adoption of the article above referred to in the latter convocation, at which Parker, Grindal, Cox, etc., assisted; as also by the addition made to the 26th of Edward's articles, which is the 25th of those framed in Elizabeth's reign. This addition is remarkable, because in Edward's article any visible rite or ceremony was not positively excluded in the conferring of orders; but in the 25th of the present thirty-nine articles it is declared that 'those five, commonly called sacraments, that is to say, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony and extreme unction, are not to be accounted for sacraments of the gospel; being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed by Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments with baptism and the Lord's Supper, *for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony*

ordained of God.' This doctrine of the Anglican Church, for *at least half an age after*, as Bishop Burnet very dryly tells us, was so openly avowed that a defender of the 39 articles. Mr. Rogers, wrote: 'None but disorderly Papists will say that order is a sacrament.' And he asks: 'Where can it be seen in Holy Scriptures that orders or priesthood is a sacrament? What form has it? What promise? What institution from Christ?'

"The assertion of Bishop Burnet, that for eighty years after the foundation of the English Church very loose notions with regard to the necessity of episcopal consecration prevailed in England, is illustrated by two facts, mentioned by Courayer. In the year 1610 James I. of England, wishing to introduce episcopacy into Scotland, caused some Presbyterian clergymen of that country to receive episcopal consecration at the hands, I believe, of Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury. They had already been made presbyters by the kirk, and the question was whether they should be re-ordained presbyters or be at once made Bishops. Some, at least one, of the English Bishops insisted on the necessity of their being re-ordained deacons and presbyters, inasmuch as they had never received these orders from a Bishop; but 'Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury,' says Courayer, 'maintained that the ordination given by priests ought to be esteemed valid, though it was not administered by Bishops; for otherwise the greatest part of the reformed churches would be found to want ministers.'

"In the year 1664, two years after the famous addition to the ordinal of Edward VI., of which I shall speak more at length hereafter, a similar case occurred. Four Presbyterian ministers of Scotland coming into England for the purpose of receiving orders were ordained deacons and subsequently promoted to higher orders. This opposite line of conduct, in circumstances precisely similar,

shows that a silent reformation had taken place in the minds of the English hierarchy on the all important subject of the necessity of episcopal ordination. These facts, however they may be attempted to be explained away, are in strict accordance with what we learn from Burnet concerning the change in the sentiments of the English Church.

"By a special act of Parliament, passed in 1552, the ordinal for the consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, etc., was annexed to the Book of Common Prayer which had already been established in 1549. The words of this act are: 'And by the same authority Parliament hath annexed and joined a form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops—and also the said form of making Archbishops, Bishops, priests and deacons hereunto annexed—as it was in the former book.' By the act of 1st of Mary, 1553, the Common Prayer Book, and the ordinal annexed thereto, were abrogated, 'and all such divine service and administration of the sacraments as were most commonly used in England in the last year of King Henry VIII.' restored. In the 1st of Elizabeth, on 24th of June, 1559, the act of Mary, of 1553, was *repealed;* and that portion of it relating to the Book of Common Prayer is as follows: 'And that the said book, *with the orders of service, and of the administration of sacraments*, rites and ceremonies, with the alterations and *additions* therein added and appointed by the statute, shall stand and be from and after the said feast (of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist) in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this statute, anything in the aforesaid statute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.'

"Indeed, it seems to be undeniable that the ordinal of Edward formed part and parcel of the Book of Common Prayer, in the table of contents of which appeared, as

the 21st article, 'The form and manner of consecrating of Bishops.' In the edition of 1552 the printer's name, according to the custom of that time, is found at the end of the book, after the ordinal; which proves that it had been incorporated with the Book of Common Prayer; and that therefore the revival of the one necessarily implied the restoration of the other. This is so true that Courayer himself, as I shall presently show, gives up this plea as indefensible.

"And this is also admitted by Mason, who, speaking of the Ordinal of Edward, says: 'Which, as at this day, so then was not esteemed *another* distinct book from the Book of Common Prayer; but they were both jointly reputed as *one book*, and so established by act of Parliament. In the first of Queen Mary, by the repealing of this act, the book was disannulled, but was *established* again in the *first* of Queen Elizabeth, and *confirmed* in the eighth of her reign.' Speaking of the ordinal of Edward VI., Heylin says: 'It was approved of and confirmed as a part thereof (*i. e.*, of the Book of Common Prayer) by act of Parliament, An. 5, Edw. 6, cap. 1, and of this book it is we find mention in the 36th article of Queen Elizabeth's time, in which it is declared that "whosoever were consecrated, and ordered, according to the rites thereof, should be reputed and adjudged to be lawfully consecrated and rightly ordered."' In fact, had this been the sole ground on which Bonner rested his plea, had this been the principal defect in Horn's consecration, it is not easy to conceive why Strype should assign a different motive, namely, that Parker, Horn's supposed consecrator, was not ordained by an Archbishop, according to the statute of Henry VIII., while Heylin and Collier assign the one generally received, namely, that the ordinal of Edward VI. was not revived at the time, both which positions Courayer himself shows

to be untenable, saying of the latter: 'This second is not a jot truer than the other.' Nor would Courayer himself have been put to the trouble of *conjecturing* that Bonner's plea was grounded on the fact that the ordinal of Edward VI., although *actually* revived by the 1st of Elizabeth, was not a legal instrument of ordination, inasmuch as it was not revived *by name!* His statement of the difficulty, such as he conjectured it to have been, is as follows: 'By the statute,' says he, 'of 1552 Edward VI. had added a form for consecrating Bishops, priests and deacons to the Book of Common Prayer, and it was from that time to make part of the said book. In 1551 this book was abolished, together with the form for the ordination of Bishops. In 1559, when Queen Elizabeth caused the statute of 1553 to be repealed, there is express mention made of the Book of Common Prayer, but not of the additions that had been made to it, *i. e.*, of the form of ordination, because it was looked upon as a part of the said book. This omission is the occasion of all the difficulty in this point; for this form having been abolished by name in Queen Mary's reign, and not reëstablished by name in Queen Elizabeth's, Bonner's counsel pretended that the ordination was null, and Horn was no Bishop. This seemed of consequence enough to be laid before Parliament in 1556, and it occasioned the last statute that I have quoted (1556), by which the ordinations made in Queen Elizabeth's time are declared good and valid, notwithstanding any pretense to the contrary.

" 'The Parliament in determining about the validity of the English ordinations, declared expressly that the form of ordination had been *reëstablished in* 1559. And if we consider the case seriously, they could not have determined otherwise. For by this statute of 1552 the form of ordination was made a part of the Book of Common Prayer.'

"If this solution of the difficulty be ingenious, it does not appear to me at all calculated to help the cause in support of which it is brought forward. If the ordinal of Edward was revived in June, 1559, as is most certain, the supposed consecration of Parker in December, 1559, was *legal;* and, therefore, Bonner could not have demurred on the ground of any defect in the observance of the law; especially as in the supposed commission of the 6th of December, 1559, by virtue of which Parker is said to have been consecrated, the following clause appears: 'Supplying nevertheless by our supreme royal authority, from our mere motion and certain knowledge, if—in those things which you shall do according to our mandate, or in you, or any one of you, or your condition, state, or faculty for the accomplishment of the foregoing —there be anything wanting or to be wanting, of what is required or necessary in this case, by the statutes of this realm, or by the ecclesiastical laws—the circumstance of the time, and the necessity of things so demanding it.' Nay, more, we are told by the advocates of the Anglican ordinations that six lawyers had given the following opinion as to the competence of the Queen so to order, and of the persons named in the commission to act under it.

" 'We whose names that are hereunder subscribed think in our judgments that by this commission in this form penned, as well the Queen's Majesty may lawfully authorize the persons within named to the effect specified, as that the said persons may exercise the act of confirming and consecrating in the same to them committed.'

" 'Signed William May, Robert Weston, Edward Leeds, Henry Harvey, Thomas Yale, Nicholas Bullingham.'

"Now, although I believe and will, in due time, en-

deavor to prove that this commission and certificate, as well as the Lambeth Register, in which they are referred to, were fabricated, long subsequent to the time of Parker's consecration, the defenders of the English ordinations must admit their authority, as they are their own documents. This certificate, then, appears to me to destroy the objection taken to the fact of Bonner's denial of the episcopal character of Horn, namely, that that demur was solely grounded on a legal informality, which, I have already shown, did not actually exist, and which, if urged at all, would have been easily overruled.

"Besides, if such legal informality did exist, was there not sufficient time to remedy it by an act of Parliament between the 1st of August, when Parker was elected, and the December following? How could it have escaped the notice of the Queen's legal advisers? or of the six counsel at law who were consulted on the occasion? Does not this consultation show that every anxiety was manifested, in the supposition of the genuine character of that document, by all parties concerned, that no ground of objection might be afforded those who were not inattentive observers of the most important event in the history of the English Reformation—the foundation of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy? Would the Queen's party have been *afraid*—for this is the word used by Fuller—to commit the determination of so important an affair to the judgment of a jury? Would an act of Parliament have been passed which, if not absolutely needed, was the greatest injury ever inflicted on the Anglican Church, and has given rise to that name by which the Bishops of England are yet known—Parliament Bishops? Would Bonner, who denied the Queen's supremacy, and who, of course, would not have denied the *validity* of an episcopal consecration in con-

sequence of a supposed *legal* informality; would Stapleton, Saunders, Harding, Bristow and the many other distinguished Englishmen and foreigners who, as I shall presently show, reproached the English Bishops with never having received episcopal consecration; would they, or could they, have used such language without something more to sustain them than a legal defect—supposing that such legal defect actually existed?

"The truth of the matter appears pretty clearly to have been that so notorious was the defect of episcopal consecration in the first English Bishops, that a reference to a jury was regarded as a perilous experiment. And not without reason, if we can believe Dr. Heylin, who says, 'it was advised that the decision of the point should rather be referred to the following parliament, for fear that such a weighty matter might miscarry by a contrary jury, of whose either partiality or insufficiency there had been some proofs made before touching the grants made by King Edward's Bishops; of which a great many were made under this pretense, that the granters were not actually Bishops, nor legally possessed of their several sees.'

"Whatever, then, may be thought of the motive of Bonner's denial, it is certain that, at least previous to 1566, a formal and public denial was made that Horn, and, consequently, Parker, from whom he was supposed to have received consecration, were Bishops; and that no lapse of time might cause this memorable plea to be forgotten, the English Parliament immediately passed the following act, by which, says Dr. Heylin, 'the Church is strongly settled on her natural pillars.'

"ACT OF 8TH ELIZABETH, 1556.

" 'For as much as divers questions by overmuch boldness of speech, and talk, amongst many of the common

sort of people, being unlearned, hath lately grown upon the making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops within this realm, whether the same were and be duly and orderly done according to the law or not, which is much tending to the slander of all the state of clergy, being one of the greatest states of this realm: Therefore for the avoiding of such slanderous speech, and to the intent that every man that is willing to know the truth, may plainly understand that the same evil speech and talk is not grounded upon any just matter or cause, it is thought convenient hereby partly to touch such authorities as do allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same Archbishops and Bishops to be duly and orderly done according to the laws of this realm, and thereupon further to provide for the more surety thereof, as hereafter shall be expressed:

"'Wherefore for the plain declaration of all the premises, and to the extent that the same may the better be known to every one of the Queen's Majesties subjects, whereby such evil speech as heretofore hath been used against the high state of prelacy may hereafter cease, Be it now declared and enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That the said act and statute made in the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, whereby the said Book of Common Prayer, and the administration of sacraments with other rites and ceremonies is authorized and allowed to be used, shall stand and remain good and perfect to all respects and purposes; and that such order and form for the consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and for the making of priests, deacons and ministers, as was set forth in the time of the said late King Edward VI., and added to the said Book of Common Prayer, and authorized by Parliament in the fifth and sixth years of the said late King, shall stand and be in

full force and effect, and shall from henceforth be used and observed in all places within this realm, and other the Queen's Majesties dominions and countries.

" 'And that all acts and things heretofore had, made or done by any person or persons, in or about any consecration, confirmation or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the Queen's Majesties dominions or countries, by virtue of the Queen's Majesties letters, patents or commissions sithence (since) the beginning of her Majesties reign, be and shall be by authority of this present Parliament, declared, judged and deemed, at and from every of the several times of doing thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes, any matter or thing that can or may be objected to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

" 'And that all persons that have been or shall be made, ordered (ordained) or consecrated Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, or Deacons, after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form how Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Ministers, should be consecrated, made, and ordered (ordained), be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers, and Deacons, and rightly made, ordered and consecrated, any statute, law, canons, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.'

" 'It plainly appears by this statute,' says Courayer, from the English translation of whose 'defense' I have copied it, 'that it was not the Parliament that gave validity to the ordinations, but supposed them valid, and acknowledged them as such, and consequently declares them such.'

"It need not be said that this act failed in its intended effect of silencing the overmuch boldness of speech, which it commemorates in its preamble. During the whole of Elizabeth's reign, the very important defect—which surely must have been something more than a mere legal informality—was objected to the Anglican Bishops; and even so late as 1597 we find an act passed by the Parliament of that Queen, to confirm the Bishops and other dignitaries of the Established Church, in their ecclesiastical prerogatives—'any ambiguity or question in that behalf heretofore made, or hereafter to be made, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.'

"Let us now pass from the acts of the English Parliament to examine what were the sentiments of the English Catholic Doctors, all of whom were the contemporaries of the first Anglican Bishops, and many of whom, at first, had been zealous partisans of the new religion.

"Between the years 1562 and 1568 a distinguished Catholic divine, Dr. Harding, had a sharp controversy with the famous Jewel, Protestant Bishop of Salisbury. Dr. Heylin thus sketches the character of these two celebrated men: 'The combatants (Jewel and Harding) were born in the same country, bred up in the same grammar school and studied in the same university also. So that it may be said of them, as the historian hath of Jugurtha and Sylla, under Caius Marius, that is to say, that they both learned those feats of arms in the same camp and under the same commander, which afterwards they were to exercise against one another. Both zealous Protestants also in the time of King Edward, and both relapsed to Popery in the time of Queen Mary; Jewel for fear, and Harding upon hope of favor and preferment by it. But Jewel's fall may be compared to that of St. Peter's, which was short and sudden, rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than

before he was. But Harding's, like to that of the other Simon, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again (so much was there within him of the gall of bitterness) to his former standing.'

"In 1562 Bishop Jewel published his famous '*apology for the Church of England,*' to which Harding published in 1563 a reply entitled, '*Confutation of the apology of the Church of England: Antwerp, 1563.*' In this he says: 'Therefore, to go from your succession, which you cannot prove, and to come to your vocation (orders), how say you, Sir? You bear yourself as though you were Bishop of Salisbury. But how can you prove your vocation? By what authority usurp you the ministration of doctrine and sacraments? What can you allege for the right and proof of your ministry? Who hath laid hands on you? By what example hath he done it? How and by whom are you consecrated? Who hath sent you? Who hath committed to you the office you take upon you? Be you a priest or be you not? If you be not, how dare you usurp the name and office of a Bishop? If you be, tell us who gave you orders.'

"The reply of Jewel is remarkable for its evasive character. Harding had asked, 'by whom he was made priest'—using the word 'priest' in the more enlarged sense of Bishop, who is nothing more than a priest of the first order, because endowed with the plenitude of the sacerdotal power. Taking advantage of this ambiguity, which the context, as may be seen by the concluding sentence of the above extract, sufficiently removed, Jewel answered: 'Since it pleases you' (I translate from the Latin) 'to demand from me my letters of ordination, and to ask me, as if you had any authority for so doing, whether I am a priest or not; who imposed hands on me; how I have been ordained: I answer, that I was made

priest long since, by the same rite and title, and, if I mistake not, by the same person and by the same hands, by which you, yourself, Harding, were made a priest, in the time of Edward VI., that excellent prince. Therefore, you cannot doubt of my priesthood, unless you call your own also into question.' Harding immediately replied; he denied that Jewel was ordained priest, either at the same time, or in the same manner, or by the same hands that he, Harding, had been ordained; or, indeed, in the time of Edward VI. He then continues: 'But you have not answered half my question. For I laid down this foundation from St. Jerome; There is no church where there is no priest; for the word 'sacerdos' (priest) signifies, as you well know, not only a simple priest but a Bishop. Therefore, I ask you as much about your promotion to the episcopal dignity as to the priesthood. Suffer me, then, to recall my words once more to you. I wrote thus, and you have not yet answered; let us not now discuss your succession, which you cannot prove, and come to the investigation of your vocation (orders).'

"Although Jewel published a third work in the same year, 1568, in which he pretended to answer Harding's book, he observed a profound silence on the important subject of his consecration. Nothing but the fact that he could not satisfactorily explain that circumstance can account for the insincerity displayed in the following answer which he makes to the question: 'was he a Bishop?' 'You ask me,' says he, 'as if you were my Metropolitan, if I am a Bishop or not. I answer; I am a Bishop by the free, customary, and canonical election of the whole Chapter of Salisbury, assembled for that purpose, and of which you, Harding, were then a member; and, as I heard, were present in your own person with your brethren, and gave your free and public suf-

frage to that same election. If you deny that, take care lest you be found to give testimony against yourself.' Harding, in reply, denied that he was present at the election, that he had given his suffrage, or that that election had been canonical—it having been solely caused by the dread of the King's power—and Jewel, at length, finding all further evasion fruitless, in a subsequent work declares that he had been consecrated by his Archbishop, assisted by three other Bishops, and had been recognized as a Bishop by the Queen. To this Harding replied: 'But you were made, you say, by the consecration of the Archbishop (Parker) and other three Bishops. And how, I pray you, was your Archbishop himself consecrated? What three Bishops were there in the realm to lay hands upon him? You have made the matter worse than I had objected it to you. Your Metropolitan, who should give authority to all your consecrations, had himself no lawful consecration. There were, indeed, some lawful Bishops in the kingdom, who either were not required to impose hands on you; or who, being required, refused to do so.' Jewel made no further answer to this charge. In another place Harding, writing shortly after the famous act of 1566, says: 'If you will needs have your matters seem to depend of your Parliament, let us not be blamed if we call it a Parliament religion, Parliament Gospel, Parliament faith.'

"The See of Canterbury became vacant on the 17th of November, 1558, by the death of the great and good Cardinal Pole, than whom, among those not held up to the veneration of the faithful, ecclesiastical history records no more worthy person. On the 18th of July, in the following year, a writ authorizing the election of Matthew Parker was issued; and on the 1st of the following August he was elected to succeed the late Archbishop. On the 9th of September the Queen issued her

commission for the legal confirmation and consecration of the newly elect. This commission begins in these words:

> " 'Elizabeth, Dei grati Angliæ etc.
> Reverendis in Christo Patribus
> Cuthberto episcopo Dunelmensi,
> Gilberto Bathoniensi episcopo,
> David episcopo Burgi Sancti Petri
> Antonio Landavensi episcopo.
> Wilielmo Barlo episcopo, et
> Johanni Scory, episcopo, Salutem.'

"(Elizabeth by the Grace of God, etc., To the Reverend Fathers in Christ—Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, Gilbert, Bishop of Bath, David, Bishop of Peterborough, Anthony, Bishop of Landaff, William Barlow, Bishop, and John Scory, Bishop, Health.)

"With regard to this document it is to be premised:

"1st. That it does not seem to have been known to, as it is not mentioned by, Mason, who cites a commission of a later date, which is directed to four other persons, in addition to the three *last* named in this commission. This commission was first referred to by Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, in his work on the present subject.

"2d. That although Ward endeavors to throw suspicion on it, because directed to three Catholic Bishops, who, according to Stowe, were deprived of their sees before this time, in consequence of refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy—yet its authenticity must be regarded as certain: as this commission has the mark of authenticity before referred to, being, '*Per Breve de privato sigillo*,' and must, therefore, be considered as authentic. Nor is the authority of Stowe opposed to it; because although he states that the Catholic Bishops

were deprived at an earlier date, there are reasons to believe that his words must be taken with some limitation; and that Elizabeth, who was most anxious that Parker should be duly consecrated, left as many in possession of their sees as might be required for the ceremony. She, no doubt, may have cherished the hope that the example of severity she had exercised towards the prelates already deposed would not be without its effect in overcoming whatever religious scruples those she had yet spared might have to comply with her orders. This is not a vain surmise, but a fact, supported by the authority of Larre, a French Huguenot historian, who, in his life of Elizabeth, expressly states that the prelates named in the commission were left in their sees—'probably,' says he, 'they were permitted to retain them, in the hope that they would consecrate Parker, as was so much desired. They, however, refused to comply with the wishes of the court. This disobedience, combined with what had before occurred, caused them to be deposed shortly afterwards.' The same is also testified by Dr. Bramhall, who attributes the deprivation of three of them, which took place shortly afterwards, to their refusal to consecrate Parker.

"It has been before observed that Mason, who first publicly appealed to the Lambeth Register, makes no mention whatever of this commission, but refers to one, dated the 6th of December following. This probably made Ward regard the Act of September, quoted by Bramhall, as suspicious, and designed to prop up that of the 6th of December: whereas, as I shall show in a proper place, it furnishes a strong proof of the spurious character of this latter document.

"A statute of Henry VIII. required four Bishops to assist at a consecration, and accordingly we find four Bishops, of whose consecration there could be no doubt,

named first in the commission. With them are joined Barlow and Scory, who are merely styled Bishops, and have not, like the rest, the name of any see connected with their names; and it appears by the testimony of John Stowe that they both were then merely Bishops-elect. Describing the services, performed in London, on the death of Henry II. of France, he thus mentions the officiating prelates: 'Dr. Parker, Archbishoppe of Cantorburie elect, Doctor Barlow, Bishoppe of Chichester elect, Doctor Scory, Bishoppe of Hereford, elect.' The only reason why they were named in this commission seems to have been that they might be authentic witnesses of the consecration of the new primate, who was to be for the Anglican Church the foundation of its hierarchy.

"By another statute of Henry VIII. the prelates named in such a commission as this, who should refuse or defer to consecrate within *twenty days* from the issuing of the order, subjected themselves to a *premunire*. This regulation was intended to prevent the possibility of recurring to Rome, in the interval between the time of nomination and consecration. The Bishops of Durham, Bath and Peterborough refused, and were consequently deprived. The Bishop of Landaff did not consecrate, as is agreed on by all. He was not deprived; probably because, for the reasons to be mentioned in the next chapter, Parker did not deem it prudent to urge matters against him; and probably because his obsequiousness in taking the Oath of Supremacy—in which he was the only recreant of his order—shielded him from the rigorous execution of the law.

"Although it be certain that none of the four Catholic Bishops named in this commission consecrated Parker, and although it is not pretended that Barlow consecrated him before the 17th of December, 1559, we yet find

Parker and others, whom he is said to have consecrated, named Bishops, not *elect*, but with the titles of their respective sees (from which we may infer that they were regarded as consecrated), in an authentic commission of the Queen—*Per ipsam Reginam*—on the 20th of October, just two months before the time of the supposed consecration by Barlow! This commission begins thus:

> "'Regina
> Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, Matheo
> Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo; et
> Reverendis in Christo Patribus,
> Edmundo Londinensi episcopo, ac
> Ricardo Eliensi episcopo,
> Ac etiam dilectis et fidelibus consiliariis.'

"(The Queen to the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Mathew, Archbishop of Canterbury; and to the Reverend Fathers in Christ, Edmond, Bishop of London, and Richard, Bishop of Ely; and also to our beloved and trusty counsellors), etc.

"The authenticity of this commission is undeniable; for although it is opposed to a commission subsequently said to be issued on the 6th of December, this latter, as given by Rymer, has not any warrant of authority; it being neither *Per breve de privato sigillo*, nor *Per ipsam Reginam*, either of which, as before stated (p. 63), indicates authentic acts of the crown in Rymer's collection. Had we two contradictory commissions of equally authentic form, we might hesitate which to prefer; but when we have two, one of which is accompanied with a *certain* mark of its authenticity, of which the other is destitute, we cannot doubt for a moment which of the two we should regard as authentic; unless, indeed, we permit our judgment to be swayed more by the interest we have at stake than by the rules of judicial evidence.

"The date of this commission, and its authenticity being acknowledged, the only way of eluding the testimony it affords that Parker, Grindall and Coxe were then considered to be Bishops, is that this word 'Bishop' is taken in a vague sense, and only indicates 'Bishops elect.' This plea is inadmissible. Firstly, because such an assumption is contrary to the general rule for interpreting official documents before laid down (p. 64); and, if once admitted, would render nugatory all arguments derived from the language of documentary evidence. Bishops elect are styled such until they are consecrated; and do not receive the absolute title of the sees for which they have been elected until they are in *actual* possession of them. Hence Parker is called 'Archbishop elect of Canterbury' in the commission of the 9th of September; but absolutely 'Archbishop of Canterbury' on the 20th of October. This difference can alone be explained, either by saying that, in the meantime, he had been consecrated, or that the Queen believed her orders in this respect to have been complied with; or—what is most probable—that she was forced by necessity to acknowledge him as Archbishop, although he had received no episcopal consecration. This will not appear wonderful to those who remember what were the principles of the Reformers on the *necessity* of consecration; and that Archbishop Cranmer had solemnly declared that *election* (the royal authority) *alone* sufficed to make Bishops. Secondly, The object of the commission proves that Parker and the other Bishops named in it were considered as Bishops, or at least were *to be* considered as such. In the famous case of Bishop Bonner we have seen that none but a Bishop could validly tender the oath of *supremacy* to a Bishop in his purely spiritual character. And as the commission of the 20th of October was issued to empower the persons therein named, to present the said

oath to all persons, ecclesiastical or lay, within their respective jurisdictions; it follows that Parker, Grindall and Coxe must have been then regarded as Bishops. Whatever consecration, therefore, they received, must have been between the 9th of September, 1559, and the 20th of the following October. Now the defenders of the Anglican ordinations make no attempt to prove that they were consecrated within this time; indeed, they endeavor to establish the fact of their consecration at a later date. Thirdly, the title of 'Most Reverend Father in Christ,' given to Parker, and that of 'Reverend Fathers in Christ,' supposes them to have been consecrated, or regarded as consecrated; otherwise it could not have been applied to them, in an official document, without departing from the received custom of speech. Fourthly, We learn from Hollinshead that one of the deprived Bishops (Tunstal, of Durham) lived with Parker, at Lambeth, where he died, on the 18th of November, 1559. Now, the Archbishop of Canterbury cannot take possession of Lambeth palace until he has been installed in his see, and, consequently, subsequently to his consecration. This circumstance is well calculated to strengthen the inference deduced from the language of the act of the 20th October, 1559.

"All admit that this commission of 9th September was not executed by any of the four principal prelates to whom it was addressed; and it may not be unimportant for the object of the present examination to inquire into the probable causes of such a refusal on their parts.

" 'Now if any man,' says Dr. Bramhall, 'desire a reason why this first commission was not executed, the best account I can give him is this, that it was directed to six Bishops, without an "*Ad minus*"—or "at least four of you;" so as if any one of the six were sick, or absent, or refused, the rest could not proceed to confirm or conse-

crate. And that some did refuse, I am very apt to believe, because three of them, not long after, were deprived.'

"This solution of the difficulty does not appear to be satisfactory. In the supposed commission of the 6th of December, seven prelates are named; four, or at most five, of whom are alone stated to have been present at the consecration. It is true that in this latter document the clause '*Ad minus*' is found; but the omission of such a formality cannot be supposed to have had any effect. Besides, it is absurd to imagine that in this transaction—the accomplishment of which the Queen had so much at heart—the persons named in the commission were afraid lest Her Majesty's law officers might be watching their every action, ready to pounce upon them, and bring them before the courts of law for the violation of a principle which does not appear to have been admitted or established. This reason is, therefore, nugatory. Why, then, I ask, was not this commission executed?

" 'Why the consecration was deferred so long,' says Dr. Heylin, 'may be made a question; some think it was that the Queen might satisfy herself, by putting the Church into a posture by her visitation, before she passed it over to the care of the Bishops; others conceive that she was so enamored with the title and power of Supreme Governess that she could not deny herself that contentment in the exercise of it which the present interval afforded.'

"That the four Catholic Bishops named in this commission refused to execute it is admitted by all. But we find that Landaff, who is here put the fourth, stands first in the supposed commission of the 6th of December. Hence it may be asked: why issue a new commission to him, when from his prior refusal, all parties concerned must have known that he would not execute it? If there

were any legal difficulty in the way, could not that have been remedied by an Act of Parliament, between the months of September and December—not to say anything of the exercise of the royal prerogative? Surely there was sufficient time, between the 9th of September, and the 6th of the following December, for discovering and remedying any civil informality in the proceeding; especially as we are told by Mason that six lawyers were consulted, whose names are given, and who declared their opinion both that the Queen might lawfully authorize the persons to the effect specified; and the said persons also might lawfully exercise the right of confirming and consecrating in the same to them committed.'

"If it was not likely that Landaff would consecrate Parker, why name him in a commission, the authority of which he was more or less likely to bring into contempt, by not executing it in such important circumstances? The only answer to these questions is that the commission of the 6th of December—which, moreover, has not either of the marks of authenticity established in the fourth chapter—is incompatible with the commission of the 9th of September, and therefore is to be rejected. This conclusion, however, I shall establish more at large, and on other grounds, in a subsequent chapter.

"That the Queen was most anxious for Parker's consecration is admitted by all. Indeed, as has been already shown, it appears almost certain that were it not for her, the first English Reformers would have dispensed altogether with the rite. All likewise admit that the execution of the Queen's will in this respect was attended with no little difficulty. The consecrations of Edward's reign had been declared invalid in that of her immediate predecessor; and Elizabeth knew that the Catholic Bishops would be very unlikely to yield to her wishes in this respect, as they were—with one unfortunate exception,

Kitchin of Landaff—unanimously opposed to the new doctrine; and were prepared to suffer all extremes, rather than acknowledge her spiritual supremacy.

"It was stated by Catholic writers, even before the appearance of Mason's book—who inserts the assertion without denying it—'that the Most Rev. Dr. Creagh, Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, who was then a prisoner in the tower of London, was applied to by Parker, with the hope of receiving from him episcopal consecration. This, however, the venerable prelate firmly refused.'

. . . . . .

THE STORY OF THE NAG'S-HEAD CONSECRATION.

Concerning this famous episode the following arguments are used by the Archbishop:

"1. I do not undertake to establish the truth of the Nag's head consecration; but merely to examine whether it be so entirely destitute of probability or proof, as has been pretended; and whether the vindicators of Catholic faith who publicly avowed their belief in its reality, at a period when they had better opportunities of ascertaining the truth than we now can possibly be supposed to have—were imposed on by an absurd tale. Hence, if the Nag's-head consecration be disproved, the only consequence to be inferred is that these latter were mistaken; it by no means follows that Parker was consecrated, which is a fact to be proved—like all other facts—by positive evidence; and is not established by the confutation of the extraordinary event that forms the subject of this inquiry.

"2. In judging of this event, we must not form our opinion by the same rules that would guide us, were there a question of the narrative of a similar event asserted to have occurred in our own times. We might—nay, should—naturally say to ourselves: is it possible

that Protestant clergymen, who set so high a value on orders, and many of whom are probably more to be pitied for their ignorance of the truth, than to be suspected of a disposition to trifle with sacred things; is it possible that such men would have been guilty of so impious a profanation? But we must remember that we have not to judge of our contemporaries, but of Parker and his compeers, who publicly avowed their disbelief in the efficacy of the imposition of hands; and who, by the violation of their solemn vows to God, by their duplicity and the total want of principle which appears in their whole conduct, have shown that they were capable of even still more serious profanations than that laid to their charge. It may not be out of place to remind the reader that Luther himself, although a simple priest, attempted to make Amsdorf a Bishop; and that he has left on record his opinion that a sacrament administered *in jest* is equally valid with that conferred with the customary solemnities.

"3. It must also be borne in mind that the manners of people nowadays are not precisely the same as they were two hundred and eighty years ago—the period of Parker's supposed consecration. Hence, although a '*tavern*' or hotel might appear to us an unsuitable place even for an ordinary meeting of such important characters, we must remember that even at the present day meetings of the most distinguished personages, lay and clerical, are held in some of the London taverns. Who has not heard of the 'Crown and Anchor tavern' of that city? But on this subject it is not necessary to insist, as we have the acknowledgment of those very Protestant writers who have rejected the story of the Nag's-head consecration, that a meeting of the prelates *was* held there, and that this meeting gave rise to the belief, or, at least, to the rumor, that they had been conse-

crated there. When Fuller wrote his Church History, the Nag's-head tavern was yet to be seen in Cheapside: and at the entrance to it, he informs us, was to be seen a mock pulpit, or something having the appearance of one. Fuller, indeed, denies that Parker was consecrated there, but he lets out enough to show that, whatever may have been the real nature of the meeting of the prelates at the Nag's-head, it is most unjust to regard the story as entirely unfounded, and as an absurd fiction invented through hate of Protestantism. His words are: 'Now though we are not to gratfie our adversaries with any advantages against us, yet so confident is our innocence herein that I may acquaint the world with the small *foundation*, on which the whole *report* was *bottomed*. Every Archbishop or Bishop presents himself in *Bow Church*, accompanied thither with *civilians*, where any shall be heard who can make any legall exceptions, against his election. A dinner was provided for them at the Nag's-head in Cheapside, as convenient for the vicinity thereof, and from this *sparke*, hath all this fire been kindled; to admonish posterity not only to do no evil, but also, in this captious age, to refrain from *all appearance* thereof.' In the margin, he says: 'This the Lord Chancellor Egerton affirmed to Bishop Williams.' Dr. Heylin repeats the same thing, almost in the same language: 'But to proceed,' says he, 'unto the consecration of the new Archbishop; the first thing to be done after the passing of the royal assent for ratifying of the election of the dean and chapter, was the confirming of it in the court of Arches, according to the usual form in that behalf: which being accordingly performed, the Vicar General, the dean of the Arches, the proctors and officers of the court, whose presence was required at this solemnity, were entertained at a dinner provided for them at the Nag's-head in Cheapside; for which though

Parker paid the shot (that is, the reckoning), yet shall the Church be called to an after-reckoning.' The doctor then gives a minute account of the supposed consecration of the 17th of December, after which he says that after the ceremony 'there was a plentiful dinner for the entertainment of the company which resorted thither. Amongst whom Charles Howard (eldest son of William Lord Effingham, created afterwards Lord Admiral, and Earl of Nottingham) happened to be one, and after testified to the truth of all these particulars, when the reality and form of this consecration was called in question by some captious sticklers for the Church of Rome.

" 'For so it was, that some sticklers for the Church of Rome, having been told of the dinner which was made at the Nag's-head tavern, at such times as the election of the new Archbishop was confirmed in the Arches, raised a report that the Nag's-head tavern was the place of consecration. And this report was countenanced by another slander, causing it to be noised abroad, and published in some seditious pamphlets, that the persons designed by the Queen, for several bishoprics, being met at a tavern, did then and there lay hands on one another without form or order.'

"We may here remark the important fact, which this last extract from Heylin lets out; namely, that the Nag's-head consecration, instead of being first published fifty years after the event, as Protestant writers maintain, was noised abroad and published in some seditious pamphlets soon after the fact occurred. If it was not thought of until fifty years afterwards, how could Parker's dinner at Cheapside have been, as it confessedly was, the 'small foundation of the story?'

"4. The circumstances in which this event is said to have occurred must be remembered. In the course of less than thirty years, the English nation had passed

through four different changes of religion—under Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth. Of all the Bishops whom this last mentioned princess found on her ascending the throne, one only—Anthony Kitchin, Bishop of Landaff—called by the Protestant Camden, 'the calamity of his see'—proved faithless, and he only did as much as might enable him to keep his see, and no more: he took the oath of supremacy; but was otherwise Catholic in his belief. Of the inferior clergy, we may form an equally favorable judgment, for although many of them retained their livings, at the sacrifice of their convictions, the defection was by no means so general, as it had been in the reign of Henry VIII. On this subject the testimony of Dr. Heylin is unexceptionable. 'Partly by the deprivation of these few persons (fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, Priors, and Governors of Religious Orders, twelve Deans and as many Archdeacons, fifteen Presidents or Masters of colleges, fifty prebendaries of cathedral churches, and about eighty parsons or vicars)—but principally by the death of so many in the last years sickness, there was not a sufficient number of men to supply the cures, which filled the Church with an ignorant and illiterate clergy, whose learning went no farther than the Liturgy, or the book of Homilies, but otherwise conformable (which was no small felicity) to the rules of the Church. And on the other side, many were raised to great preferments—who having spent their time of exile in such foreign churches as followed the platform of Geneva, returned so disaffected to Episcopal Government, unto the rites and ceremonies here by law established, as not long after filled the Church with most sad disorders.' When all things were in this state of confusion; when the very worst and most degraded characters of society had been intruded into the pulpits, which the learned and orthodox clergy of the English Church

were no longer permitted to occupy; can we be surprised at the 'hole and corner' character of a consecration which three Catholic Bishops absolutely refused to perform; and which Kitchin—who, although he had sworn to the Queen's supremacy, was in other respects a Catholic—might be ashamed to perform in public—the Bishop elect being notorious for his heterodox tenets? When such was the state of things in England, such the instruments by which the change of religion was effected, it would be wrong to judge of the probability or improbability of their conduct, by the same rules as would guide us, was there question of the Protestant Episcopal clergy of the present day; who, if I am not very much mistaken, would have turned away with disgust from those whom the prejudice of education makes them now regard as deserving of all esteem.

"5. We should also be convinced that no opinion, or expression of contempt, that may have been now or formerly entertained or expressed on this subject, can invalidate the *testimony* of contemporary and faith-worthy witnesses; who either testified what they had seen, or bore evidence to what they had heard from those who were eye-witnesses of the affair; or who attest the public belief of its credibility.

"At the commencement of the reign of James I., of Great Britain, after the death of Elizabeth, the tradition of the ordination at the Nag's-head Tavern, in September, was repeated louder than ever by the Catholics and Presbyterians, in their endeavors to profit by the change of government. The Presbyterians said that the pretended Bishops were mere priests like themselves; having only been ordained by the imposition of Parker's hands, who, himself, had received it from a simple priest, Scorey, at the tavern; and consequently that if they had seats in Parliament, the Presbyterians should not be ex-

cluded from them. For the same reason the Catholics maintained that the episcopacy and priesthood had ceased in England.

"This great clamor obliged the Anglican clergy to do everything possible to discredit this narrative; and among the means employed was the production of false documents of all kinds; especially of false Registers, and of a work attributed to Parker, concerning the Antiquities of the British Church. These record, or refer to, the consecration said to have taken place at Lambeth, on the 17th of December, 1559; and hence it was argued that the succession of Bishops in England had not been interrupted. No historian, no printed work in general circulation, mentioned this consecration. It was then necessary to have some work of an early date to produce; and it was also necessary that but a few copies of such a work should be extant, in order to account for the fact of finding in it what was not before generally known to the public, namely, the consecration of Parker, at Lambeth, and some other similar facts connected therewith. The best way for accounting for the obscurity in which this book had hitherto lain, was to make Parker himself the author of it, who, through modesty, it might be said, had only caused a few copies to be printed. A work written by himself, which might appear to have been printed in his time, and which bore testimony to the fact, would be of great weight in this affair. Who could be better instructed than the supposed Archbishop himself? And who would venture to object to a witness whose testimony, although now brought forward for the first time, had been recorded thirty years before? He was, then, to be made the writer of his own life, and in this he would refer to his consecration at Lambeth. It was determined to write the lives of all the Archbishops of Canterbury—to add his to the rest—and to

terminate just about two years before his death. It was printed in London, with the date 1572; that thus it might appear to have been published under his own inspection.

"To give color to this scheme, but very few copies were struck off, which, it might be supposed, Parker got published for his private friends. Another edition was published at Hanau, in Germany, with the date of 1605, and purported to be taken from the London edition of 1572; and to authorize the belief that the smallness of the first edition was owing to the modest reserve of Parker; the edition printed in Germany does not contain the life of Parker, although its title page professes to give the lives of the seventy Archbishops of Canterbury —Parker being the seventieth. This title was left in it to supply an additional proof that the life of Parker, found in the supposed edition of 1572, was by the same hand as the rest of the work, although, through excessive modesty, suppressed in some of the few copies that had issued from the London press. After much search in England, during the most stormy period of the ordination controversy, only twenty-one copies of the edition of 1572 could be discovered, and but thirteen of these contained the life of Parker. There are, however, two tables in pp. 37 and 39 of the copies that have not his life, in which the day of his own consecration, and the other episcopal acts ascribed to him in the Register, are mentioned. Whether the work was antedated, or whether it was really published about the time it purposes to have been, matters little. It is obvious that in either case it cannot be brought forward as evidence; and this Dr. Lingard seems fully to admit. Does not all this supply a strong suspicion of fraud? Whatever may be thought of the real date here assigned to Parker's supposed book, it is evident that it was not known to

Sacrobosco (Holliwood), who in 1603 published an account of the Nag's-head consecration; and that it was not printed, or, at least, published, until about the time of Mason's reference to the famous Lambeth Register. Had it been published in London, in 1572, or in Germany, in 1605—would not the Catholic writers have mentioned something of the consecration at Lambeth? Would the Nag's-head consecration have been published so late as 1603? Would the appearance of Mason's work have caused so much wonder, and called forth such numerous replies, if the Register had been publicly referred to forty years before, in London, and eight years before in Germany? The only testimony for the insertion in Parker's diary, *in his own hand*, is a copy to which Courayer referred in 1725, and which was said to contain a note to that effect by the son of Parker, written before 1603. Is it seriously pretended that such evidence is to be admitted on a question of such vital importance?

"In reply to the fourth section of this paragraph, I deny the authenticity of the Lambeth Register, and that for the following reasons, in addition to those before mentioned. 1. The wording of the record in the Register is suspicious, inasmuch as it is different from that of all the entries that precede and follow it. Thus:

"Anno 1559, Mathaei Parkeri Cant. Consec. 17 Dec. per	Gulielmum Barloum, Joannem Scoreum, Milonem Coverdallum, Joannen Hodgkinsonum.
(In the year 1559, The Consecration of Matthew Parker, of Canterbury, on the 17 Dec. by	William Barlow, John Scorey, Miles Coverdale, John Hodgkinson.)

"Now the reader is particularly desired to observe that the four Bishops mentioned as assisting at the consecration of Parker are designated merely by their *names*, without the title of any see being given to them. This is contrary to the established use in such cases, as appears by the following record of a consecration, said to have taken place four days afterwards:

"Anno 1559,	Math, Archiepisco, Cant.
Edm. Grindallus,	Gulielmum, Cicestrenser,
Consecr. 21 Decemb.,	Johannen, Herefordism,
per	Johan. Bedford.
(In the year 1559, on the	Mathew, Archbishop of
21 Dec.	Canterbury,
Edward Grindal	William, of Chichester,
was Consecrated by	John, of Hereford,
by	John, of Bedford.)

"How can we account for this remarkable difference of language, the former of which is an entire departure from the accustomed style; especially when we know from an authentic royal commission, that Parker was named by the style and title of Mathew, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Grindal, whose consecration is here stated to have taken place, as Edmond of London—just two months before the date of this record? The only plausible answer that can be made to this difficulty is that the consecrator of Parker and his assistants were not in actual possession of any see at the time of Parker's consecration; whereas both he and the others named in the Register of Grindal's consecration, were actually in possession at the time it took place. I will let this plea be judged of by the reader, as I do not rely so much on the informality of the record as on the other circumstances connected with its history. It must, however, be admitted that it looks very extraordinary and

suspicious, as it is the only one in the Register that is liable to the same difficulty; especially as those named in it have the style and title of their dioceses annexed to their names in the act of Parker's confirmation, which was, of course, previous to his consecration.

"2. There is a great variety among those who quote the Register as to the number of Bishops present on the occasion, and the name of one of them. 'This disagreement,' says Courayer himself, 'is very obvious: for one says that Parker was consecrated by Barlow, Scorey, Coverdale and John, Suffragan of Dover; Sutcliff joins to the three first two suffragans. The author of the lives of the Archbishops of Conterbury has but one suffragan with the three Bishops, who is Richard, suffragan of Bedford. Mason agrees with the latter as to the number, only he calls the suffragan John. In short, the record of the 6th of December, found in Rymer, names seven to whom the mandate for consecration is addressed —so that we see five different accounts of the same facts.' To this objection Courayer replies that although those who quote, or refer to the Register, vary, the Register is the same, in all the works in which it has appeared. But we must remark that the writers whom he quotes profess to have examined the Register themselves, which seems irreconcilable with the fact.

"3. The circumstantiality of the Register is remarkable, and, of itself, is enough to excite suspicion. There does not seem to have been any necessity for putting on record that the 'chapel towards the east was hung with tapestry,' that 'there was a red cloth on the floor'—although purple is the color used in Advent—and it being then the 17th of December, that there was a sermon, concourse of people—especially as it was *about* five or six o'clock in the morning—*Mane circiter quintam aut sextam horam*—that the ceremony commenced—that is,

about two or three hours before daylight!—not to mention anything of Miles Coverdal's 'woolen gown,' etc. All this appears so much out of place, and contains so many improbabilities, that it would alone suffice to give rise to suspicions of some sinister design in the extraordinary minuteness of its details. *Nimia cautio dolum prodit.*

"3. According to Mr. Mason, whose statement must be bound up with the Register, Parker was elected by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury about December; whereas according to Stowe and Hollinshed, and indeed all who now maintain the fact of his consecration, he was Bishop elect on the 9th of the preceding September: and according to the Royal Commission of 20th of October, was 'the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Mathew, Archbishop of Canterbury'—two months before he is said to have been elected!

"4. In the Chronicle of Hollinshed it is stated that Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, 'was by the noble Queen Elizabeth deprived of his bishopric, etc., and was committed to Mathew Parker, Bishop of Canterbury, who used him very honorably, both for the gravity, learning and age of the said Tunstal; but he not long remaining under the ward of the said Bishop, did shortly after, the 18th of November, in the year 1559, depart this life at Lambeth, where he first received his consecration.', Hence, Parker was in possession of Lambeth palace, and was 'Bishop of Canterbury' in the month of November; whereas, if we believe Dr. Lingard, he only obtained the restoration of his temporalities in the year 1560—'a restoration which was never made till after consecration.' Hence, whatever consecration Parker received, must have been before the 18th of November, 1559.

"5. It does not appear that the Archbishops of Canterbury were ever consecrated at Lambeth; at least

Courayer, the most laborious and able defender of English ordination, was not able to refer Hardouin to any instance before that of Archbishop Sancroft—one hundred years after the supposed consecration of Parker. The reason of this is easily seen. During the vacancy of the see, Lambeth is under the Chapter of Canterbury, whose jurisdiction subsists until the new Bishop is enthroned, a ceremony that necessarily follows his consecration. Hence, the Archbishop elect would be obliged to *ask* permission from the Chapter, to have his consecration performed in a chapel or church belonging to their jurisdiction. This he would naturally enough avoid doing by being consecrated elsewhere. At least, such appears to have been the case prior to the consecration of Archbishop Sancroft.

"6. According to Mason, who quotes the Register as his authority, Parker was elected by virtue of a writ of *congé d' elire*, directed to the Chapter of Canterbury. Now the writ of *congé d' elire* was abolished by act of Parliament of 25 Henry VIII. It was restored in Queen Mary's time; but was again abolished by the revival of the aforesaid act of Henry VIII. in the first year of Elizabeth. By this act the liberty of election was taken from the chapters, to whom the King or Queen directed letters missive, directing them to elect the person therein named.

"Many other reasons might be advanced to prove that the Lambeth Registry is a document without any intrinsic evidence of authenticity, and contradicted by public and notorious facts, related in the contemporary histories of the time, and most especially by the Royal Act of the 20th of October, which alone suffices to disprove, or, at least, involve in doubt and obscurity, whatever may be adduced in support of Parker's consecration subsequent to that date.

"It is said that the Lambeth Register is referred to in the following passage of the act of 8th of Elizabeth:

" 'That every thing requisite and material hath been made and done as precisely, and with as great care and diligence, or rather more, as ever the like was done before her majesty's time, as the records of her majesty's said father and brother's time, and also of her *own time*, will more plainly testify and declare.'

"But it is evident that the records here referred to are those of Parliament itself, and not of Lambeth.

"A still more plausible argument in support of the Lambeth Register is taken from the preamble to the act of Parliament just referred to, wherein it is stated that the Queen had not only made use of the same terms as had been formerly used by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., in her letters patent; but had also *supplied* by her royal authority whatever defects and imperfections might be in the parties concerned; as appears by her letters duly recorded. This reference is deemed an unanswerable argument in favor of the authenticity of the royal commission of the 6th of December, 1559; as this is the only commission of the kind which has the *supplying* clause, given in pa. 43 of this work. Hence it is inferred that that commission is genuine; and that the Lambeth Register, as a matter of course, cannot be rejected without contradicting an act of Parliament of unquestionable and acknowledged authenticity.

"Imposing as this argument appears, it is not conclusive. The royal act referred to in the foregoing part of the preamble to the act of 8th Elizabeth is expressly stated to be letters patent under the Great Seal of England; whereas such commissions as that of the 6th December, 1559, are never under the Great Seal of England, but have generally the King or Queen's privy seal attached to them. The commission of 6th December, as

before observed, has, however, no seal whatever; at least, Rymer, who is most minute in describing such marks of authenticity, is silent on the subject. From this it appears that the letters patent referred to in the act of 8th Elizabeth are not the commission of 6th December, 1559; and consequently, that the argument drawn from the supposed reference is destitute of foundation.

"Hardouin contends, and not without some appearance of reason, that the *supplying* clause of the commission of 6th December, 1559, was suggested to the mind of whoever forged this document, by the above reference. The object of the supplying clause in the Letters Patent must have been to remove whatever canonical or legal defect might be in the person elected to be Bishop, or in those who were to consecrate him; such as might arise from illegitimacy of birth, or any of the irregularities established by the laws of the Church. Such precautionary dispensations are by no means uncommon, or rather are matters of course; whereas the fact that the *supplying* clause, given in pa. 42, is nowhere found but in the commission of 6th December, 1559, and is very much calculated to strengthen the suspicion that it was inserted therein, through the mistake of whoever undertook to compose the aforesaid act."

It is interesting to note that the first Conference of St. Vincent de Paul in the United States was formed in St. Louis, on the 14th of November, 1845, by the Hon. Judge Bryan Mullanphy and a few leading Catholics.

A committee of three was appointed to wait upon Bishop Kenrick and ask his approval of the objects of the society. The letter is appended to show how fully he approved of the old Cathedral conference:

"Beloved Brethren: I learn with great satisfaction that you have formed yourselves into a society which

takes its name from the apostle of charity, St. Vincent de Paul, and which has for its object the relief of the poor of Christ whose spiritual or corporal wants may render them subjects for that charity which loves not in word or in tongue, but in deed and in truth. I approve most warmly of your holy undertaking and cherish the hope that your society, which as I am informed has been aggregated to the parent society in Paris, will be the means, with the divine blessing, of promoting the practice of Christian charity as successfully here as the other branches of that society have proved themselves to be wherever they have beeen established. I have read the rules you have adopted for the government of your society and most cordially approve of them. They breathe a deep spirit of piety and appear to be the result of much reflection and experience. They indicate the means most likely to render your united efforts efficient in aiding the poor. They are also well calculated to keep alive within you the spirit of holy fervor which will not permit you to grow weary of doing good. Invoking on you the divine blessing and cherishing the hope that God who has inspired you to commence this good work will enable you to accomplish it, I subscribe myself, yours most devotedly in Christ,

"PETER RICHARD,
"Bishop of St. Louis."

Accordingly Judge Mullanphy wrote to the President General of the society in Paris, on the 15th of December, 1845, and in due course a reply was received in response to the application.

There are many good, easy-going people who entertain the belief that the Catholic clergy always have fine, luxurious lives, and as for Bishops, they were always cradled in the lap of luxury. We have shown how even

in the large city of Philadelphia, in the early days, it was not always that even a Bishop could command the price of a dinner; and we are reminded how much better off was Goldsmith's ideal Protestant pastor, who was "passing rich on forty pounds a year" than many of the Catholic clergy in rich America a hundred years after the date of his poem, when money had not a quarter the purchasing power of forty pounds in England at the time supposed, by the text of a pastoral issued by the Bishop in the year 1846:

"*Beloved Brethren:*

"A sense of duty impels us to call your attention to the necessity of providing some more effectual means for the support of the clergy of this diocess, than has hitherto been adopted.

"That those who devote their lives to the ministry of the Church, have a strict right—founded in the natural and Divine Law—to receive a competent support from those for whom they labor, cannot be called in question. This right arises from the fact, that, as by entering the ministry they have renounced secular pursuits, in order more entirely to apply themselves to the service of their brethren, these must be bound to requite such service, by affording to those who have devoted themselves to it, the means of supplying their temporal wants. Under the Mosaic dispensation, the tribe of Levi, being set apart for the ministry of holy things, did not receive a portion with the other tribes of Israel, because such a provision would have been incompatible with the duties of their ministry: but, independently of the part the priests and Levites were to have in sacrifices, first fruits, etc., God ordained that the tithes or tenth part of the fruits of the earth, should be appropriated to their support. In the New Law, the same principle has been recognized and established with the Divine sanction. While exhibiting

in his own conduct a disinterestedness which made him labor with his hands, rather than urge a demand which might prove an obstacle to the progress of the gospel, St. Paul, nevertheless, proclaimed this right, and alleged the ordinance of Jesus Christ as the ground of the obligation it necessarily implies: 'Know you not that they who work in the holy place eat of the things that are of the holy place; and they that serve the altar partake with the altar? So, also, the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel."—I. Cor. ix., 13, 14. Nor can the application of this principle be eluded, in the present instance, by alleging the example of St. Paul, before referred to; because his renunciation of this right cannot invalidate an obligation which Christ Himself has established. Moreover, the circumstances in which the apostle of the Gentiles presented this admirable example of disinterestedness, are not like those in which we are placed, living in a Christian community where this right is universally admitted.

"Notwithstanding the universal admission of the principle, we are compelled to state, what, were it possible, we would willingly conceal, that the provision hitherto made for the support of the ministers of religion in this diocess is by no means sufficient for that purpose. That neither we, nor the devoted men who labor with us, in tending the flock over which we have been placed, have any unreasonable pretensions, will be manifest from the regulations we shall embody in this present letter. Let us not, however, be understood to reproach our beloved children in Christ with a want of proper principle or a disregard of our services. Other causes, naturally arising from the circumstances in which the faith has been propagated in this country, afford an explanation of this apparent anomaly.

"In justice to the laity, we must ascribe the state of

things referred to, in many instances, to a mistaken but highly honorable feeling of delicacy on the part of the clergy. The desire of avoiding everything which might appear to press heavily on the means of those who had frequently to struggle with all the difficulties and embarrassments of a new establishment; as well as the wish to avoid what might appear to originate in a love of filthy lucre, caused many of the venerable men who labored in the early missions of this country to abstain from urging a claim, the motive of which might have easily been misapprehended. Content with beholding the fruits of their labors in the virtues of their people, and in the increase of their flocks, they silently submitted to the privations which zeal for the salvation of their brethren seemed to demand. Much as we admire the spirit which dictated such a line of conduct, we cannot but lament the consequences which, contrary to the intention of those zealous and disinterested men it has produced. The sacrifices thus made by the clergy have not always been duly appreciated—the exception has been taken as the rule—and, in many instances, people have acted as if they regarded the priest as one bound to labor for them, to succor them—no matter at what sacrifice of health or convenience—in their spiritual necessities, but who should look elsewhere for the food which he was to eat and the raiment wherein he was to be clad. Most sincerely do we regret the necessity which compels us to lay publicly before you an evil which we have no hope to see corrected, except by this painful remedy.

"We are not unaware that the circumstances of many of our flock may appear, even still, to afford a sufficient excuse for the state of things to which we seek to draw attention. Many, no doubt, who have the will, have not the means of satisfying—at least to the full extent—their

obligations towards their pastors. Some permit themselves to be swayed by the illusion that the same provision which sufficed to support a single priest ought to be sufficient for the wants of an increased number of clergymen, which the increase of population imperatively requires in certain congregations. Others who have seen the ministers of religion supported in other countries, by ecclesiastical endowments or State provision, appear to imagine that the same offerings which they were accustomed to make to ministers of religion thus provided for, will suffice for the maintenance of a clergy who have no such endowment or provision. It is sufficient to allude to these sources of error, to dissipate any misapprehension which may exist on the subject.

"In order, then, to remove an evil which has pressed upon us from the beginning of our administration, which we find no longer tolerable, and which, if not remedied, would frustrate all our hopes, and neutralize all the efforts which have yet been made, or may in future be made, for the advancement of religion in this diocess—and by and with the advice of several of the clergy, whose age, experience and disinterestedness place their counsel beyond the suspicion of improper motives, we have made the following regulations, which we now publish, from a sincere desire of discharging our duty, and of making known to you your conscientious obligations:

"First. We require every parish priest, administrator of a parish, or missioner charged with the care of souls in a district not yet erected into a parish, to make out, with as little delay as possible, a full list of all the Catholics within said parish or district; distinguishing those who are united as families from individuals not so united.

"Secondly. We authorize him to appoint annually two or more laymen within such parish or district, whom zeal

for religion may induce to undertake the charge of collecting contributions to his support, from the Catholics of such parish or district; which contributions shall not be less than at the rate of three dollars a year from every family, and of one dollar a year from every individual not a member of a family. This annual contribution is exclusive of pew rents, where pews are rented; such pew rents being, in almost every instance, required to liquidate the debts contracted in the erection of the church. This contribution is also to be exclusive of the offerings, which, agreeably to a custom that dates from the earliest ages of the Church, are made during Mass each Sunday, and which offerings are intended to supply the expenses of the church in providing requisites for the altar, choir, etc. We take this occasion of expressing the wish, that where this custom does not prevail it be introduced, and where it has been interrupted, it be restored, as soon as may be deemed advisable. Such annual contribution is also exclusive of the offerings, which, agreeably to the universal practice of Christians, are made to the priest on occasion of baptisms, marriages and funerals, and which, we are sorry to learn, in very many instances, are entirely omitted.

"Thirdly. We hereby make known our resolution of not requiring a clergyman to reside permanently in any congregation in which the subscription towards his support, by the contribution directed in the preceding regulation, shall not amount to the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars a year, and the same sum for every additional clergyman who may be employed in the service of such parish or district. Wherever the clergyman has several churches to attend, we shall require that the congregations attached to those shall, by their united subscriptions, make up the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars a year, and we hereby authorize every clergy-

man, having the charge of several congregations, to regulate his attendance on such congregations according to the proportion in which each congregation shall engage to contribute to his support. We will endeavor to provide for the spiritual wants of those congregations who cannot support a resident priest, or contribute to his support in the manner already mentioned, by procuring for them an occasional visit.

"Fourthly. As a provision for our own support, and to enable us to defray the expenses attendant on the administration of the diocess, we shall require from each parish priest, administrator of a parish, or missioner charged with the care of souls in a district not yet erected into a parish, the one-twentieth part of the sum actually collected in each and every such parish or district, and we will accept said one-twentieth of the above-named collection, in lieu of the *Cathedraticum* which the canons of the Church empower us to demand of every church in the diocess, to which the care of souls is attached.

"We hereby require all clergymen to whom the care of souls is committed in this diocess—regular as well as secular—to conform themselves in all things to the foregoing regulations.

"Such, dear brethren of the laity, are the regulations which, after mature reflection, and by the advice of men of great zeal and much experience, we have made, and by which we, and the clergy of this diocess, will be guided from and after the first day of next January. We have no other way of enforcing these rules, than by declaring, as we hereby declare, your conscientious obligation to observe them; or by depriving you of the services of the ministers of religion—a measure we would feel most unwilling to adopt, but which a sense of duty may impose upon us. In making these regulations, we have not

been influenced by any desire of filthy lucre, but only by considerations of justice to ourselves and to religion. We will add that you yourselves are more interested in this matter than might, at first sight, be imagined. A considerable number of the youth of the diocess have given indications of a vocation to the ministry, and are now actually occupied in preparing themselves for it, in the Preparatory Seminary of St. Mary, Perry county. We do not ask you to sway their choice, by holding up to them prospects of wealth and independence; but we do ask you to coöperate with us in making such a provision for those who enter the priesthood, as may remove from the minds of the present and future aspirants to the ministry, the disheartening prospect of a perpetual struggle with all the inconveniences resulting from inadequate support. We do not ask for them riches; nor, as you must be aware, anything like the competence they could acquire by engaging in the other walks of life; but only the food and raiment with which—after the example and admonition of the apostle—the servant of Christ should be content.

"Let us caution you against an erroneous impression, which our appeal might, contrary to our intention, leave upon your minds, and, at the same time, present you a motive well worthy of Christians, and the one by which we would especially wish to see you actuated. The provision which we seek to obtain for the support of the clergy, is not to be regarded as a salary, given by the employer to the employed, but as an offering made by Christians to God, in the persons of His ministers. We need not say that no human reward could adequately compensate for the services of a zealous and devoted priest. No, brethren, we look not here for our reward: 'We are the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God.' He is our Master: to Him are we

answerable for the service we render the souls He has redeemed with His precious blood; and from Him are we to receive, if found faithful among the dispensers, the imperishable crown of eternal recompense. The offerings you make to us—whether towards our support, or to enable us to give the example of that charity which the poor so naturally expect to receive at our hands, and which we are so constantly called on to exercise—are offerings to God, whom you thus honor with your substance, in recognition of the source whence you have derived whatever you possess, and as the expression of your gratitude to the Giver of all good gifts. Let us remind you that God loves the cheerful giver.

" 'For the rest, brethren, rejoice, be perfect, take exhortation, be of one mind, have peace, and the God of peace and love shall be with you.' "

NOTES.

[1] Peter Richard entered Maynooth College and matriculated there in 1827. As a student he soon became distinguished for his talents and close application. He read much outside the curriculum of college studies. His tender piety, and especially his devotion to the Holy Mother of God, gave great edification to the professor and to his fellow-students. During his term the Very Rev. Bartholomew Crotty was president over the college, and the Very Rev. Michael Montague was vice president. As an instance of great courtesy and kindness towards his fellow-students, the former parish priest of St. Michan's, Dublin, Canon James McMahon, used to relate that when he entered Maynooth as a freshman, he accosted Peter Richard, then a stranger to him, by asking for some information which he required. Not only was it most readily given, but his services were immediately placed at the disposal of the newcomer, by helping him not only to arrange his room and furniture, but also to instruct him in the varied routine of college life and the duties he should have to perform. This casual acquaintance led to a close and friendly intimacy during the time spent by them together in Maynooth, and afterwards when both had been engaged on missionary work.

[2] The paper ceased to exist about the middle of June, 1954. The cessation of *The Shepherd* was a real loss to Catholic literature. Few, if any, papers had been more ably edited. An important fact in connection with *The Shepherd of the Valley* was the mistaken meaning attached to the words: "When the Catholic religion shall have become the religion of the country, religious toleration will come to an end. So say our religious adversaries, so say we." And then the learned editor went on to explain his meaning, which was to the effect that the unlimited religious license which attacked the very foundations of religion and society could not be tolerated by a Church that professed to be the unerring Church of Jesus Christ. Still, notwithstanding Mr. Bakewell's explanation, quite a deal of religious venom was excited over the matter. The Archbishop was held as responsible for the utterance, and the attention of the United States Senate was called to it. Senator Malloy, of Florida, tried to explain it satisfactorily, but for a time it

rankled. When the *Shepherd of the Valley* died, it was succeeded by another aspirant for the barren honors of Catholic literature, a paper called the *Leader*. This was edited by the distinguished convert and scholar, Dr. Jedediah V. Huntingdon, and was marked by great ability and boldness. There was yet another paper to come, the *Catholic News Letter*, and one of the regular contributors to this was the eminent historian and scholar, John Canon O'Hanlon, who taught for several years in the seminary at Carondelet, and spent many more in the Missouri mission.

Much ingenuity was displayed by a malignant press in distorting the language of the *Shepherd of the Valley*, and this process of hate-sowing was kept up for many years. It culminated at length in the following letter from the author of the article to the late esteemed proprietor of the *Catholic Standard* (Philadelphia):

St. Louis, January 1, 1886.

Dear Mr. Hardy: During a recent visit to St. Louis you called upon me and showed me certain extracts from some religious newspapers (so-called), attributing to the Most Rev. Archbishop Ryan certain atrocious sentiments in regard to persecution for religion's sake, said to have been formerly published by him in the *Shepherd of the Valley*. You suggested that I should put in writing, for publication, what I then said to you about this matter. This I was unwilling to do, because I conceive it to be of little or no use, and because I dislike in any way to put my name in the papers in connection with this or any other matter. You showed me that my name had been publicly connected with the paragraph, and suggested that I should write something in self-defense. As to that, I am quite indifferent. However (as this is a dies non), against my own judgment I comply with your request, and you may make such use of this letter as you choose.

The extracts which you showed me are the revival of a very old "gag." About 1853-4, at the time of the Know-Nothing agitation, many papers throughout the United States published the following as an extract from the *Shepherd of the Valley*, and then attributed the language to the venerable prelate who was then, and who now is, Archbishop of St. Louis; he, of course, was not Archbishop Ryan:

"If Catholics ever attain, which they surely will, though at a

distant day, the immense numerical majority in the United States, religious liberty, as at present understood, will be at an end."

Shortly afterwards a new edition of "Gavin's Master-Key to Popery," or "Maria Monk's Revelations," or some such delectable storehouse of anti-Catholic lies, was published, and this story about the views of the Archbishop of St. Louis on the incompatibility of the spread of the Catholic religion in America with the continued existence of religious liberty, together with the extract, as above, which was given as his published language, was put into the appendix, and thus embalmed for preservation, to be used as occasion might serve in the anti-Catholic controversy. The extract, until the war, was regularly trotted out at intervals, but since then has, I believe, until lately been forgotten.

The facts are these. The *Shepherd of the Valley*, a weekly paper, was edited and published by me, in St. Louis, from January, 1852, to July, 1854. I was then a very young man. It was not unusual at that time for Catholic Bishops to permit Catholic papers in their dioceses to print, at the head of the editorial column, some form of words to the effect that the paper was published with the approbation of the Ordinary of the diocese. It was well understood by Catholics that this implied no more than that the Bishop considered the paper harmless, or perhaps likely, on the whole, to do more good than harm. So far as the Archbishop of St. Louis was concerned, except this formal approbation, he never wrote a line for the paper whilst I had it, never saw it until it was in print and, I dare say, hardly ever opened it. He was as entirely innocent of any connection with it, except so far as stated above, as was the President of the United States. All its editorial matter I wrote myself, and I thought as little of consulting His Grace as to what I should say or publish as I did of consulting the Grand Turk. The paper was in no sense the Archbishop's organ. What I said in it had no special significance. I was perfectly free and had a great deal too much respect for the Archbishop to think of taking up his time with anything concerning my paper. I was, as I have said, a very young man, and he was one of the most learned and (putting aside his sacred office), to my mind, one of the most venerable of men. He was very good and gracious to me when, at very rare in-

tervals, I called to see him; but he never, I believe, gave me the slightest hint as to the conduct of my paper, except that once or twice he expressed disapproval of the character of some selected matter, but purely as a matter of taste.

The paragraph inserted above from the *Shepherd of the Valley* was by me, and formed part of an editorial which appeared in that paper in 1852. It was, however, followed by these words: "*So say our enemies,*" which the controversialists wholly omitted.

It is manifest, from what I have said, that no prelate of the Catholic Church can be charged with persecuting sentiments on account of this paragraph; and that as far as for my humble self, it is about as fair to impute, on account of them, any such sentiments to me as it would be to say that King David was an atheist because he uses this language in the 14th Psalm, "There is no God;" though he puts these words—as I did the words which caused this rumpus—into the mouths of the enemies of the Church.

However, in my case, after saying, "so say our enemies," I added, "so say we." But the next words are, "But in what sense do we say so?" and I then go on to show that religious liberty is generally misunderstood for total indifference for religion, and that in this case religious liberty is approved by no one, Catholic or Protestant, who has any belief in religion at all.

For my own part, I always had a great dislike to persecution. I have known many Catholics, Bishops, priests and laymen of all classes. To my best recollection and belief, I never heard any one of them express any sentiments on the subject of persecution for religion's sake which would seem to favor it; I have often heard Catholics, both lay and clerical, express a great horror of it. I know, as certainly as I am sitting here, that if Catholics were ten to one in the United States, or if they ever become so, there would be no attempt at persecution; or if there were, it would be regarded as criminal by the moral theologians and the rulers of the Church. "Non est religionis religionem cogere" is, I believe, the language of St. Augustine, and I have always understood it to be an accepted maxim of Catholic morals. Bad men will do bad things and unjust things, of course; and the mob is tyrannical; and there will always be a large proportion of bad men in the Church, or she would not be the Church described in the prophecies and in

the Gospel. An unpopular minority is apt to suffer in a popular government; but under no circumstances would it be considered right by Catholics that a Catholic government should punish any man for adhering to the religion of his ancestors, or to try to drive men to hypocrisy and sacrilege by external violence applied on account of religious belief.

I am sure that I never said, and I never thought, that governments are justified in enforcing an outward conformity, against conscience, to a dominant religion. No such sentiments ever appeared in any paper with which I was ever connected, except to be reprobated. No Bishop or Archbishop ever published anything whatever on the subject of religious liberty in any paper in St. Louis to my knowledge, and the atrocious sentiments attributed to the editor of the *Shepherd of the Valley* never appeared in that paper except to controvert them.

There is a class of controversialists who are very unscrupulous. It is quite useless, I think, to reply to these. Time flies and things pass. I suppose few people now remember the beginnings of the Tractarian movement, and the doughty Dr. Hook, sometime Vicar of Leeds. He was a famous "churchman" in his day, and wrote books which no one thinks of reading now. He undertook to defend the Tractarians; and a sermon of his made a great noise when I was a boy. I burned it up with other precious tracts which I once delighted in reading, most of which, I confess, I now look upon (to adopt from Coleridge) as the "superfoetation" of folly. I had this sermon in my hands this morning, and it was the following note to it which put me in mind of writing to you. Altering a word or two, it may be applied to the class of controversialists who circulate this old persecution story. The race, it seems, is not extinct of those who think that the end justifies the means:

"Perhaps there never was devised by men who profess to call themselves Christians a system of attack more wicked than that which is adopted by many who assail these tracts. Of the persons who are supposed to write them, lies the most ridiculous are invented, industriously circulated and willingly believed. And where an attempt is made to refute the tracts themselves, false extracts are made, and they are represented as asserting the very errors which they in express words reprobate. This is actually done by men who not only call them-

selves Christians, but profess to be of the strictest sect of our religion. The inference is obvious; lies would not be told unless it were impossible to substantiate the accusation by telling the truth." Yours truly,

P. A. BAKEWELL.

NOTES BY VERY REV. CANON O'HANLON.

[8] Father Richard Kenrick was charitable to the point of utter unselfishness or ordinary prudence. Although frequently warned that undue advantage had been taken of his benevolence, yet such was Father Kenrick's goodness of heart that he could listen to no tale of distress without distributing money. Some amusing anecdotes of him were related by the old Dublin clergy and laity. On a certain occasion, having given a shilling to an importunate and, as she represented herself to him, a starving beggar, he afterwards saw her enter a neighboring public house. He followed immediately, and her back being turned to him at the counter, she called for a glass of whisky, which was handed to her, when she laid down the shilling for change. Father Kenrick stole softly beside her and, placing his hand on the shilling, he looked reproachfully at the woman, saying at the same time: "I did not give that money to be spent in drink." With admirable self-possession and ready wit the beggar at once made a lowly curtesy and replied: "Your holy and charitable reverence, shure I couldn't go home wid bread to the childer adouth havin' a small glass to dhrink your health!" Father Kenrick had a keen sense of humor, and withdrawing his hand from the shilling he left the shop, convulsed with laughter.

The locality wherein his church was situated was in early days a rough and turbulent one, and is so to some extent, at times, to the present. The reader will probably recollect the description given by Sir Walter Scott in his fine novel, "The Fortunes of Nigel," where the Templars and apprentices of London are represented as having had some bloody encounters with swords and clubs in Fleet street at a time now remote; but in the commencement of the last century the former citizens of Dublin often witnessed drawn battles between the butchers' apprentices of Ormond Market and the Liberty boys

south of the Liffey. The former brought their cleavers and the latter blackthorn sticks to decide some determined and dangerous contests. The combatants usually met in Francis street, to the great horror of the peaceably disposed inhabitants, whose windows were broken with stone-throwing and whose lives were often in peril. As a matter of course, the old Dublin watchmen, who had notice of the coming disturbance, and who were the constituted guardians of the public peace, were sure to absent themselves from the scene; but when the rioting was all over, they returned and made diligent inquiries from the shopkeepers—who usually kept aloof and within their houses—about identification of the delinquents. Thus the Charlies, as they were called, took care to follow Dogberry's maxims and give themselves as little trouble as possible. As a matter of course, prosecutions seldom followed. Yet it devolved on the zealous pastor to interpose and clear the streets of rioters. Such was the general respect entertained for him, as a man of peace and good-will, that he sent them fleeing away to their several quarters and ashamed to look on his face.

The following extract will give an idea of the insolence of the Irish Protestants in their dealings with Irish Catholics—clergy and laity—in the early days of the Kenricks. It is taken from John D'Alton's "Memoirs of the Archbishop of Dublin," p. 486. Pub. Dublin: Hodges & Smith, College Green, 1838, 8vo.:

"In 1814 a contest arose between this prelate (Most Rev. Dr. Troy) and the grand jury of the city of Dublin, relative to the Catholic chaplaincy of the gaol of Newgate. The grand jury having appointed one, Doctor Troy suspended him on the ground of incompetency; the former appealed to the Court of King's Bench, and were informed by the Chief Justice that if the person they selected was not to be found at his post, they must proceed to nominate another, and so on until the office was substantially filled. The grand jury, however, chose to adopt a different course, and sent an order to the prison that no other Catholic clergyman should be admitted except him whom Doctor Troy had suspended. A disgraceful and protracted strife ensued, and the grand jury in the meantime, under the shield of a lingering penal enactment, maintained a suspended clergyman in an office which his legitimate pastor declared him unfit to fill."

An anecdote.—When the Archbishop was last in Dublin, and had called at SS. Michael and John's parochial house, he went over to look at my books, and seeing the "Irish Penny Journal" of 1840, he took it out eagerly and opened it at No. 16, where he found Clarence Mangan's transcendently beautiful and pathetic "Elegy of the Tyronian and Tyrconnellian Princes Buried at Rome." He sat down, evidently with a revival of old enthusiastic recollection, and commenced reading the line, "O woman of the piercing wail," with the finest intonation I ever heard, even from him. The poem was of peculiar construction, but correctly metrical, as are all the compositions of the gifted poet. Their modulation and emphasis alternated so delightfully in the Archbishop's musical and soft, sweet tones that I listened with emotion, rapture and admiration to the very last verse:

"Look down upon our dreary state,
And through the ages that may still
Roll sadly on,
Watch Thou o'er hapless Erin's fate,
And shield at least from darker ill
The blood of Conn!"

He then closed the volume, and full of newly awakened feeling, looking at me, exclaimed: "Did ever poet pen more exquisite lines?"

At the same time I had invited some of our Dublin clerical dignitaries to meet His Grace at dinner, with the priests of our house, and amongst the rest Father Charles P. Meehan, who had taken an extraordinary admiration for the Archbishop and his intellectual gifts, after a first introduction and conversation. After dinner, as was his wont when pleased with the companionship and in the vein of relating some of his capital stories, Father Meehan greatly amazed Dr. Kenrick, who had a keen sense of humor, with some narratives of Dublin life and character. Father Meehan's clear intonations reached from a rather distant part of the table to the head, where the dignitaries were seated, and among other anecdotes he told how at the consecration of St. Patrick's Cathedral, then newly restored by the eminent Dublin brewer, Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, he asked a witty Dublin preacher to select a suitable text for the dedication sermon. Accordingly the preacher in question began his discourse with the Scriptural quotation, "He-

brews (he brews), chap. XX." Double XX. was the well-known designation Guinness' Porter. The appositeness of the text was hailed with laughter by all the clerics present; but the Archbishop, who was beside me, quietly and slyly whispered in my ear, "That is no doubt an amusing anecdote, but the preacher must have been very ignorant of Scripture, for he seems to have forgotten there are only thirteen chapters in Hebrews."

I only saw Most Rev. Patrick Francis Kenrick in Dublin on the occasion when he returned from Rome, after the Definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, towards the close of 1854, and on his way home to the United States. He assisted at a grand function in the Cathedral, Marlborough street, and which the Very Rev. Canon Thomas Pope, administrator, had arranged as a service of thanksgiving on the last Sunday of the year. As Archbishop Cullen had not then returned from Rome, the Archbishop of Baltimore made but a short stay at that time in Dublin before proceeding to Queenstown, whence he sailed for America.

In the third edition of the late Paul Deighan's "Treatise on Arithmetic," published in 1810, and which is in the Royal Irish Academy, there is a recommendation of the work from "Rev. T. Reynolds and M. McCormick, Principals of the Mercantile and Classical Academy, Chancery Lane," 1810.

It is probable that John Browne, the poet Mangan's last preceptor, succeeded the above, as in Jones' Grant's and New Ladies' Almanacks for 1821 and 1822, in John McCall's (Patrick street) possession, there are puzzles given written by "John Brown, Principal of the Academy, 14 Chancery lane." Other relatives of his, sons or nephews, perhaps (according to the above almanacks), William Browne and John Browne, Jr. (puzzle writers also), had then another rival academy at 3 Upper Stephen street.

Jones' two almanacks, in the writer's possession, show that for the three first years of James Mangan's connection with same he gives his address as Chancery lane, Dublin; the years are 1818, 1819, 1820. In Grant's and the New Ladies' Almanacks for 1821 and 1822 he varies his address to "James Mangan, 6 York street, Dublin." This is the first clue I got to find out that the late Thomas Kenrick had his extensive scrivenery offices in 6 York street.

When I published my little work on Mangan's Life in 1882, for the first time revealing the house 6 York street as where the poet worked at the scrivenery business, the late Canon O'Rourke, of Maynooth, who was pleased at the revelations therein, wrote me a letter, of which I give the following extract:

St. Mary's, Maynooth, Easter Sunday, 1883.

Dear Sir: I have just read your Life of poor Mangan. No book for a long time has given me so much pleasure. . . . . Page 14, *Scrivener's Clerk.*—You do not say who the scrivener was. I believe he was Mr. Kenrick, the father of two of the greatest Archbishops America has ever seen, with the exception of Doctor Hughes, of New York. Patrick, the elder, died Archbishop of Baltimore. Peter, the second, still lives and is Archbishop of St. Louis. These two great men must have known Mangan in their father's office, perhaps worked at the same double desk with him. The thing is easily verified by a reference to a Dublin Directory of the time. That Patrick worked at the business there can be no doubt. When he was a student at Rome he wrote many letters home to his brother; part of these I saw, and the writing in them was like copper plate; none but a scrivener could have written them. It would be an interesting fact to prove that three of Ireland's great men worked at the mill-horse scrivenery business in that dingy office in York street, etc.

Mangan himself says he was at first apprenticed to the scrivenery business; it is likely that his younger brother, John, was also apprenticed at Kenrick's. James Tighe, author of "Sal Swig," etc., and whom the present writer knew well, worked for years at the same double desk with Mangan.

To settle a doubt as to whether the Kenricks' office was on the Coombe, as some old residents asserted was the case, or in York street, as also to confirm Canon O'Rourke's theory that the two Archbishops at one time worked at the same desk as the poet Mangan, the present writer took the liberty of writing to the great Archbishop of St. Louis himself, who, in the letter which I have already given, shows that though the elder, Francis Patrick, had gone to his studies some time before young James Mangan entered the office, yet he the younger, Peter Richard, and the poet were engaged together in the said office 6 York street for some years.

Besides the fragment of Mangan's Autobiography published

in the *Irish Monthly* for November, 1882, and republished in Father Meehan's edition of the "Poets and Poetry of Munster," there was also a like highly colored, exaggerated, though shorter, autobiography of the poet published by James Rive in the *Evening Packet* newspaper of Thursday, September 27, 1849, and which is given in the *Nation*, September 29, 1849.

I refer you to a letter of D. C., a scrivener's clerk, in the *Nation* of October 13 following, denying that clerks were ever worked in any scrivenery office in Dublin during the long hours mentioned by Mangan—from 5 in the morning until 11 at night —and that it was all a myth, "the disgusting obscenities and horrible blasphemies of those associated with him and which he was obliged to endure," etc.

In fact, writes this D. C., "the only scrivener's office Mangan ever wrote in was Kenrick's of York street, where he served his apprenticeship. Two of the young men with whom he was then associated, in fact writing at the same desk with him, are now Roman Catholic Bishops in America, and a third was the late Rev. Father Kenrick, of Francis street chapel! Let me ask, is it within the bounds of probability that the disgusting obscenities and horrible blasphemies alluded to would form the current conversation of such men as these even in their youthful days? His career in an attorney's office, as a scrivener, I have nothing to say to," etc.

In common with the late Canon O'Rourke, this D. C. was slightly in error in stating that besides the late Archbishop of St. Louis, his brother, the Archbishop of Baltimore, as well as their uncle, the pastor of Francis street, worked at the same desk as Mangan. But it is only an error in the date; and though not there in the poet's time, both the latter had labored at the scrivenery business in said office during the life time of the Archbishop's father, Thomas Kenrick, and who, as is shown, died in 1817, only a couple of years previous to Mangan's entering the office.

The gentle James Tighe, Mangan's other office companion, was during life one of the most inoffensive of men.

In Canon O'Rourke's letter, already mentioned, it will be seen that he dubs our future Archbishop of St. Louis "Peter the second."

Query. Could this have any reference to the mystic parts taken up by the two puzzlers in Jones' Diaries from 1821 to

1825, and while they and the youthful Peter Richard were so closely associated in the same office? James Tighe assumed the role of a satirist, as Peter Puff, "while the modest Mangan (see my "Life of the Poet," page 11) was content to play second fiddle and assume such title as Peter Puff, *secundus*." In Rebus 8, New Ladies' Almanack, 1823, the masker Peter Puff playfully dubs his equally disguised companion, Mangan, as "Peter the Second," a curious coincidence truly. Or thus: "Rebus by Mr. Peter Puff, Secundus, on the other side of the Bog, or thereaways."*

In my life of Mangan, pages 16, 17, I show that Mangan was five years altogether in the scrivenery office, and that it was on quitting it and becoming engaged in Mr. Franks solicitor's office on Merion Square that his brother punster, James Tighe, in Enigma 1, Grant's Almanack, 1826, in broken Scotch metre, bade him such an affectionate farewell:

Frae new come folk whae tarry here,
I aften for my Jamie spier,
As how he likes the bygone year
And sic discourse,
And if his—what d'ye call it—fear,
Is nothing worse.

The late distinguished archaeologist, Edward O'Reilly, wrote: The present Roman Catholic Church of the parish of St. Nicholas Without the Walls of Dublin stands on the site of the ancient monastery of the Franciscans, from which Francis street derives its name. It is uncertain at what period the present church was erected, but there can be no doubt that the old building which very lately stood at the northwest angle of the church, and was used for the residence of the Roman Catholic parochial clergy, was part of the cloisters of the old monastery. This was one of the earliest establishments of the Franciscans in Ireland, and was built A. D. 1235 upon a piece of ground granted for that purpose by Ralph le Porter. King Henry III. encouraged the establishment of the Franciscans in Ireland, and on October 8, 1236, a *liberate* was issued for the payment of ten marks to forward the building of their convent in the suburbs of Dublin. At the suppression of the abbeys, etc., by that brutal tyrant Henry VIII., the site of this monas-

*Jones' New Ladies' Almanack, 1826, one of Mangan's favored puns.

tery, with four messuages and three gardens in Francis street, six acres of meadow near Clondalkin, and all its messuages, gardens, lands, etc., at Boher-na-breena, near Glassnamuckey, were granted for ever to Thomas Stephens, to be held in *Capite* at the annual rent of two shillings Irish money.

EDWARD O'REILLY.

(The above named celebrated Irish scholar and collector of Irish MSS. died about 1829. He was author of Irish English Dictionary, 1817, new edition, enlarged by Dr. O'Donovan, published by Duffy, 1864; wrote Chronological Account of Nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers (Dublin, 1820). For some time assistant to the Iberno-Celtic Society. See Alfred Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography," p. 422. A valuable book of reference.)

The new Roman Catholic Church of St. Nicholas Without stands on the site of the old chapel, an oblong building 80 by 40 feet, where also stood the monastery of St. Francis built in 1235. The remains of Michael le Brown, Knight, Secretary of Edward I., and probably the ancestor of the present landlord, Captain Brown, of the family of Brown of Castle Brown, was buried here in 1305, and afterwards the remains of John le Decer, Mayor of the city, were buried in the Chapel of St. Mary which he had erected and the ruins of which stood on the south side of the present church in the passage between the church and the new presbytery. The new church is an imperfect cross from head to foot in the clear 125 feet. Transept, 82 feet by 40 feet. The foot of the cross or nave, 80 by 42 feet; in height, 43 feet; vaulted ceiling, the centre over the transept a truncated dome, with three vaults for burial underneath, each 40 by 20 feet, 12 feet in height. The remains of the late pastor, the Rev. Richard Kenrick, were removed from the Cathedral and deposited under the great altar, near which lie the remains of the mother and brother of the present pastor, the Rev. Matthew Flanagan, P. P.

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